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AMERICA'S MOOD AFTER MR. K's VISIT

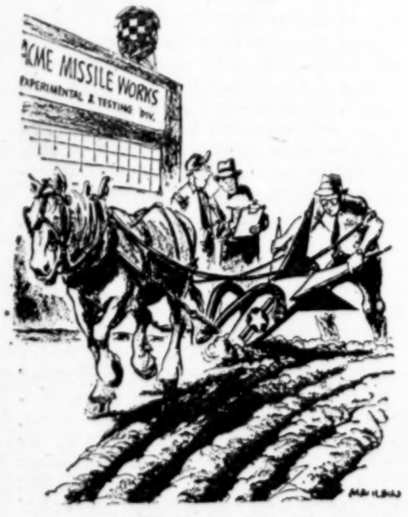
Wanted: A leadership to respond to the nation's peace cry

By James Aronson

AS THE SOVIET UNION celebrated the 42nd anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution on Nov. 7, the United States marked the 42nd day after the departure of Premier Khrushchev from our shores and the "revolution" he set in motion here. The wise ones said then that this nation would never quite be the same again, and it isn't—though all the changes are not immediately visible or tangible, and though the frozen advocates of continued cold war are regrouping for a new assault.

The headlines and the newspaper stories, the saturation television coverage and the flood of pictures that marked the Khrushchev visit are gone. They have been replaced in many areas by a sober and sobering evaluation of America's policies and its values, and by attempts to chart a course for this nation based on a realistic interpretation of the world we live in, and America's place in that world. And despite a rigid dissent in some sectors of American life—unfortunately influential ones—that world is pictured as a peaceful one.

A month ago the State Department disclosed that more than 14,000 letters from Americans had been received at the Department and at the White House since President Eisenhower on Aug. 3 announced the agreement for an exchange of visits. (The Department's reluctance to give a breakdown of the letters is tantamount to a statement that they were overwhelmingly favorable.)



Mauldin, St. Louis Post-Dispatch

"This disarmament talk sure has panicked the boys upstairs."

This, of course, does not include the thousands of letters addressed directly to Premier Khrushchev and to the press of the country.

AMONG THE LETTERS was a selection from sixth grade students in Chicago, who had been asked by their teacher, Mrs. Bernice O'Brien, to write to the Premier. One, by Judy van Aacken, said:

"We are delighted that you visited us. I like the way you talk. You bring out all the facts, the way I feel. I feel you must be a very intelligent man. I am so glad that you and our country will have peace together, if you meant what you said to share our ways of life together with yours and make a happier world."

In one way and another this sentiment has since been hopefully expressed by countless Americans, including President Eisenhower at the dedication of the Eisenhower Presidential Library at Abilene, Kan., on Oct. 14. He said:

"No other aspiration dominates my own being as much as this: that the nations of East and West will find dependable, self-guaranteeing methods to reduce the vast and essentially wasteful expenditures for armaments, so that the savings may be used in a comprehensive and effective effort for world improvement."

A few days earlier in the New York **Times**, Washington correspondent Russell Baker noted that the "country is bored with the traditional partisan issues and absorbed with the great issue of war and peace." Vice President Nixon, as anxious a pulse-taker as exists today, found this out in a political tour of New Hampshire, Illinois and Indiana. Baker reported: "Every conversation has confirmed his belief that the issue of all-consuming importance now is the future of United

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Van Doren Confesses
He Got the Answers
Full Text of ... Confession

THE DAY ALMA MATER CLOSED THE BOOK ON ONE OF HER SONS

In front of the Alma Mater statue before the Low Memorial Library on the Columbia campus, students read the news of Charles Van Doren's testimony on quiz shows. Columbia fired Van Doren that day; last week a student move for his reinstatement failed. For the wider ramifications of the quiz scandal, see Report to Readers on page 2.

DEMOCRATS WIN BIGGEST GAINS IN INDIANA

Nov. 3 elections spot no real trends for '60

OFF-YEAR ELECTIONS are the bane of political trend-spotters. The Nov. 3 balloting proved no exception to the rule. Both Democrats and Republicans claimed that the results strengthened their chances for the big prize in 1960, but most unbiased observers searched in vain for clear clues to the future. Though the Democrats emerged with more noteworthy victories than their opponents, their significance was minimized by the dominance in the campaigns of purely local issues, personalities and intra-party rivalries.

The closest thing to a trend-indicator was the Democrats' near-sweep of the Indiana municipal contests. In a state once solidly Republican, they extended the gains they have made in recent elections. Democrats now control 24 of Indiana's 25 major cities and are confident this means the Indiana vote will be in their column in the presidential election.

Elsewhere, the results shaped up as follows:

NEW YORK: Prime interest centered on a statewide referendum which would have authorized New York City to borrow $500,000,000 outside the legal debt limit for school construction. The constitutional amendment lost and the city's school children were the chief victims of a vigorous "economy" campaign conducted by Controller Lawrence E. Gerosa. In the absence of an effective effort by Mayor Robert F. Wagner and other supporters of the bond issue, Gerosa convinced a majority of the voters that needed schools could be built without additional monies and that the bond issue would result in new taxes.

Rose Russell, legislature director of the New York Teachers Union, pointed out that both these contentions are false and

(Continued on Page 4)

ANTI-CASTRO CONSPIRACIES FLOURISH HERE

Cuban protests win U.S. ban on unauthorized flights

By Kumar Goshal

VIGOROUS PROTEST from the Cuban government has finally led Washington to take action against anti-Castro plane flights from Florida and turncoat Air Force Maj. Pedro Diaz Lanz.

The Justice Dept. on Nov. 1 posted Immigration and Naturalization Service officers at all Florida airports to prevent unauthorized civilian aircraft flights to any part of Cuba. At the same time the Federal Aviation Agency ordered all persons flying to Cuba to file a detailed, written flight plan at least an hour before departure.

Flight to Cuba for the purpose of stirring up strife henceforth becomes a criminal act punishable by a $5,000 fine, five years in prison and forfeiture of plane. Failure to file a flight plan makes the pilot subject to loss of his license and a $1,000 fine.

DIAZ ARRESTED: Federal authorities on Nov. 4 jailed Diaz Lanz on charges by the Cuban government of murder and attempted murder. The former Cuban air force major fled to Miami last June and told the Senate Internal Security subcommittee that Premier Fidel Castro was a Communist and his government was Communist-controlled.

The Castro government has accused Diaz of flying over Havana on Oct. 21 and dropping explosives which killed Joaquin Fernandez and injured 24 persons. It has asked his extradition under a 1904 Cuba-U.S. treaty. The FBI said Diaz had admitted piloting a plane to Havana Oct. 21 but had denied dropping any bombs. Pending submission of formal evidence by the Cuban government, Diaz was at liberty on a $5,000 bond. A Cuban court on Nov. 3 started his trial in absentia on homicide charges.

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THE MAIL BAG

If not you, who?

NEW YORK, N. Y.

I am writing as a former leader of the American Labor Party, the Independent-Socialist candidate for lieutenant-governor of New York in 1958, and a member of the administrative board of the United Independent-Socialist Committee to date.

Last week's GUARDIAN reported the UI-SC board's amicable agreement to dissolve because of its substantial difference on electoral policy for 1960.

A number of those members who felt unable to commit themselves to an independent election effort at this time favored "postponing decision on a Presidential campaign pending possible nomination of a peace candidate by the Democratic Party." Others indicated their hopes of building neighborhood groups about the campaign of one or more independent congressional candidates who would, like Congressman Meyer of Vermont, take an uncompromising peace, if not a socialist, position.

It seems to me that both these aims might be furthered — as well as the desire of the more intransigent of us for an independent Presidential campaign — by the formation of a committee for the support of independent and socialist peace candidates in 1960.

This is a poor second best for a united-independent Presidential campaign, but it would offer some alternative to sitting out an election year; and if July confronts us with a race between a Rockefeller or Nixon and a Kennedy or Humphrey proponent of the bi-partisan war policy, many who now still hope for a more meaningful choice may be very glad to have the opportunity for political work which a committee for the support of independent and socialist peace candidates could offer them.

I earnestly invite all those interested in the formation of such a group on a state or national scale to write me. I am sure this will include many who served on the board of the I-SP and the UI-SC, or worked in last year's campaign. I hope it will also include many other left independents and socialists. As the Talmud says: "If not you, who? And if not now, when?"

Annette T. Rubinstein
59 W. 71st St., New York 23

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Trevor Gardner, former Asst. Secy. of the Air Force for Research and Development, described the case of an internationally known scientist whose clearance was withdrawn. "Unfortunately," said Gardner, "this man has such inventive ability that he keeps on coming up with 'secrets' and 'top secret' ideas, even though his clearance is removed." The Air Force solved the problem by giving the man an unclassified contract. "As soon as he gets some interesting results, we classify the results and he no longer has access to them . . . We can't seem to classify his head."

—Scientific American, 7/58

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: A. L., Catarina, Brazil.

Senseless propaganda

NEW YORK, N.Y.

When the U. S. made the first underground nuclear test, we quasi admitted that the main reason for it was our expectation that it could not be discovered at any sizeable distance. We were quite disappointed when it was registered 2,500 miles away. It is unintelligible that nobody ever tried to explain what we could learn that we did not already know from the subterranean explosion of a small A-bomb.

Gov. Rockefeller's urgings to start nuclear tests again are senseless propaganda for the Soviets who haven't made any tests for one year and stated officially that they would not be the first nation to start testing again regardless of fallout. It is hard to understand what train of ideas cause the Governor to make such an unpopular suggestion.

De Gaulle's intention to explode an A-bomb in the Sahara is unfortunate enough. But any American test would be a blow to the hopes of a world which wants peace and disarmament and the abolition of all weapons for mass-annihilation.

John H. Beck

No deterrent

LONDON, ENG.

I would suggest that the SEATO "experts" are wildly miscalculating if they imagine that "two Marine regiments of the Third Marine Division and components of the First Marine Wing" could settle matters in their favor in Laos—or that the threat of their dispatch there would act as a deterrent to Loatians in revolt against their government. Their equipment with, or even their use of, tactical atomic weapons can affect events there no more than the U.S. explosion of an H-bomb affected them when five years ago the same kind of "experts" fooled themselves that it would save the French at Dien Bien Phu.

The State Dept. and the Pentagon are riding for a fall. By their own actions they have made certain that the next "Geneva Conference" on Indo-China will not find the victors of the War of Liberation as prepared as they were five years ago to be magnanimous towards the colonialists. Once bitten; twice shy.

Edgar P. Young,
Commander, Royal Navy, Ret.

The influential ones

NEW YORK, N.Y.

In your issue of Oct. 5 Kumar Goshal said in an article: "It seemed to him [Khrushchev] that the President was 'in a more difficult position than I am.' One must take into account 'those forces in the U.S. which hinder improvement of relations . . . and an international detente and were evidently 'still influential.' "

On Oct. 11, a New York **Times** headline said: "Turkey to Get IRBM Bases: Soviet Complaint Expected."

How terribly right Mr. K was—and I'm afraid the "influential" ones have just begun. In one of his last press statements or TV appearances before leaving he said he felt that the President and the American people sincerely desired peace.

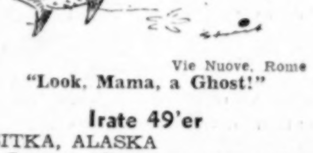
Well, after all, they are only the President and the people, and they don't seem to carry much weight against the influential people. **Stanley Levy**

Fearless, unique

OAKLAND, CALIF.

To all the scribes and GUARDIAN workers, a "well done." From far and near comes truthful news coverage. To exile Belfrage was to increase our knowledge of other lands and governments. Our sated politicians cannot bottle the brains of an honest thinker. The GUARDIAN has a fearless and unique duty for those who would "dare to be a Daniel, dare to stand alone" when "truth is on the scaffold and wrong is on the throne."

Louisa Brunzell



Vie Nuove, Rome

"Look, Mama, a Ghost!"

Irate 49'er

SITKA, ALASKA

I am sending you a copy of a letter which I wrote to the U.S. Postmaster of St. Paul, Minn., a mail route which delays orders of books and magazines, some foreign publications and most of U.S. publications from 45 days to a year before I receive them.

Sigurd A. Bertelsen, the St. Paul Postmaster, gave himself away when he sent me three blanks to be filled out and returned to him before he would deliver some mail to me which he had held up for at least one year. **Owen C. Rademacher**

To the ladies

LEMON COVE, CALIF.

We couldn't do without the many well-written, informative articles on foreign lands we get in the **GUARDIAN**; especially the enthralling ones on Chinese industry, art and culture sent by our valued friend, Anna Louise Strong. But your current issue has a Spectator article on the banning of prostitution in Piccadilly and Soho that leaves me unmoved, and, because of the author's odd writing, I don't know yet whether she approves or disapproves of prostitution. Also anent the "young, apple-cheeked policemen" who "look strangely lost," well I couldn't care less. If they be but cops to me, what care I how apple-cheeked they be?

Then (could the editor's wife have edited this issue?) we have the eulogy to Eleanor, who, let me hasten to say, is a very fine elderly lady who has done much for great causes; but could my dull, masculine mind conceive of such lines as "a rosepose curl of a girl," I think I should so eulogize another fine, elderly lady who has been thinking straight and writing straight for decades, during times when more than one Roosevelt was badly confused—our same A. L. S.

Hal Driggs

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

THERE WERE FEW PEOPLE in Times Square and less traffic than usual when the beacons atop the Times Building swung around, then steadied, one pointing north, the other east. That was the code by which the **Times** declared that Democrat Herbert Lehman was Governor, and Democrat William O'Dwyer was Mayor.

The lamplighters of Times Square heralded more Democratic victories than those in New York State. All over the nation it was Truman Time again. The Fair Deal was confirmed in office just as if one year of a Fair Deal President and a Fair Deal Congress had fulfilled any part of Fair Deal promises.

The elections made some things clear: the people feared the Republicans and, by and large, would have no part of them. And, though Progressives held their own in many places (Vito Marcantonio received 356,000 votes in the New York mayoralty race), most Americans, when they wanted to vote against Republicans, could think only of Democrats.

—National Guardian, November 14, 1949.

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Vol. 12, No. 5 401 November 16, 1959

REPORT TO READERS

Corruption unlimited

THE MOST BARE-FACED STATEMENT on our world-shaking TV quiz show revelations has come from Albert Freedman, producer of "21" which gave college teacher Charles Van Doren $129,000 and the answers which helped him sweat it out in the program's isolation booth for 14 weeks.

"We thought it was good entertainment," Freedman said. He spoke from Mexico where he has been working since TV jobs got scarce for him after he was indicted on Nov. 7, 1958, for having "knowingly lied" to the TV quiz grand jury. (We interrupt this program to ask, in the interest of even-handed justice, why Freedman has been permitted to go to Mexico when under what must be a very active indictment, while William Z. Foster is prevented from going to Europe because of an 11-year-old Smith Act indictment which will never be taken to trial? Now, back to our story.) Freedman said:

"After all, the quiz shows were not a public utility. We were not conducting Civil Service examinations. We were not conducting College Board examinations. The public wasn't paying any adimission . . . "

Freedman had a lot more ingenuous things to say, including that he denied coaching his contestants because he felt the same relationship and responsibility to them as the doctor to his patient, or the lawyer to his client. Also, that "in the field of TV programming, saturated with murder and violence, it is my opinion that the quiz shows, as entertainment, were a breath of fresh air." Most of us would probably agree with the last statement, which is why so many of us pleaded, as did another gulled public at the time of the great Black Sox baseball scandal of 40 years ago, "Say it ain't so, Charley!" Lamentably, Charley had to admit that it was indeed so.

BUT IT IS NOT SO (though Freedman probably never gave a second thought to the statement), that the quiz show—and all of TV and radio as well—are "not a public utility." They are indeed, a public utility, licensed as such under the Federal Communications Act and presumably under the same obligation as a railroad, a telephone system or a light & power company to operate in the public interest.

Technically, the radio wave lengths and television "channels" are licensed to the individual stations broadcasting on them. Networks are not licensed, except for network-owned station outlets. Since the networks have taken over most of the programming for affiliated stations, and in the main handed the job over to agencies and producers on behalf of advertising sponsors, the combination of network, sponsor and agency, rather than the licensed radio or TV station, now determines how the public interest is to be served via the public utility of the airwaves.

IN ACCEPTING THIS PUBLIC TRUST, the network-sponsor-agency combination is according to its lights carrying out the functions of what no less a savant than Adolph Berle Jr., a former Undersecretary of State and author of **Power Without Property**, describes to us as the "para-proprietal society." This is the development of capitalism which, according to Berle, Karl Marx could not foresee; and is the means by which capitalism has forestalled its doom. Tycoons and moguls are things of the past, Berle says, having been replaced by "professional management" who are not owners, but almost always salaried officials. These are becoming, Berle says, "a kind of non-statist civil service" and the corporate system at present is thus in effect "operating to 'socialize' American industry but without the intervention of the political state."

TWO NON-STATIST CIVIL SERVANTS, Dr. Frank Stanton, president of CBS, and Robert Kintner, president of NBC, have appeared before the House Committee inquiring into network operation. Kinter was at one time a partner-columnist with Joseph Alsop. Dr. Stanton may be remembered as the principal lobbyist earlier this year on behalf of the networks for changes in the Federal Communications Act passed by the last session of Congress. This act waters down the equal-time provisions so as to keep minor parties, independent candidates and such from participating in the political debate on radio and TV at election time.

Of course, neither defended the rigging of quiz programs; rather both expressed horror at the revelations of what had been going on under their noses for years. Both proclaimed intentions of thorough housecleanings, even to the extent of cleaning up the commercials. There was a good reason for their exemplary behavior: in the next session of Congress, Dr. Stanton may have to lobby against a bill to license networks, placing them under FCC control just like a teakettle station in Teaneck. This would be a blow, indeed, to the paraproprietal society.

—THE GUARDIAN

ALGERIA CEASE-FIRE THREATENED

L'Affaire Mitterrand emerges as an ugly assassin's plot

By Anne Bauer
Guardian staff correspondent

PARIS

MURDER and assassination are nothing new in politics. But in what is now a "l'Affaire Mittérrand" the ultras think they have conceived an original, sure-fire trick: if the first shot misses, the second is sure to hit the target.

On the surface, the Mittérrand affair would seem to be mystery wrapped in an enigma of falsehoods, intrigues and plots. Here are the facts and the motivations behind them:

At 2 a.m. on Oct. 16, 43-year-old Sen. Francois Mittérrand was driving home after a late supper at the Brasserie Lipp on the Boulevard Saint Germaine. He noticed he was being followed by another car. He had been persistently warned in recent days that a murder attempt against him was imminent.

Instead of taking the shortest way home, he made a sudden detour. When he gained on his pursuers, he left his car by the curb on the edge of the Luxembourg Gardens, jumped over the fence and took cover in the dark. Moments later, machine gun bullets pierced his car.

THE PESQUET STORY: A week later, ex-deputy Robert Pesquet, at a press conference, claimed the murder attempt against Mittérrand was mere make-believe, invented, organized and staged by the Senator himself. The purpose, Pesquet said, was to supply the government with a pretext for cracking down on the Paris and Algiers ultra opposition, which was then preparing a coup against the plan for Algerian self-determination.

Pesquet said he himself was in the pursuing car and that he had irrefutable proof of his assertions. He said he had several meetings with Mittérrand before the "murder attempt." He added that, in order to prove the affair was pre-arranged, he wrote two letters to himself—to be held till called for—hours before the attempt, in which he set down in detail what was going to happen.

WAS IT A HOAX? The Pesquet statement exploded like a punctured balloon. It turned a near-murder into a farce, and the near-victim into a figure of ridicule. Few people stopped to think that:

- Mittérrand was leader of the left-wing opposition, hence not likely to stage a fake murder attempt against himself for the benefit of the government.
- Even if he had wanted to simulate a murder attempt for whatever reason, he would hardly have picked one of his worst political enemies as an accomplice.
- He may have been unwise to meet such an unsavory character as Pesquet and to listen to Pesquet's warning; but, with constant right-wing threats of terrorism and assassination against those who supported a negotiated peace in Algeria, it would scarcely be surprising that pro-peace Mittérrand would agree to meet with anyone come to warn him about a threat to his life. On Nov. 5 former Premier Maurice Bourges-Manoury disclosed that last September he had notified the police that Pesquet had approached him with a similar warning. Former Premier Pierre Mendes-France said he had received such a warning from a man two years ago.

ONE MAN'S CAREER: During his brief political life Pesquet has been an early Gaullist, a neo-fascist Poujadist and always an ultra. He maintains two homes, although his source of income is a mystery. He has been in and out of court eight times on offenses ranging from fraud to seduction; each time the proceedings have been suspended.

Pesquet was a front man for several old-time fascists and Petainists such as Deputies Jean-Baptiste Biaggi, Pascal Arrighi and Jean-Marie Le Pen, former Police Inspector Jean Dides and ex-Deputy Jean-Louis Tixier-Vignancour.

As Interior Minister in 1954 and Justice Minister in 1957, Mittérrand had accused these persons of involvement in the "security leak" plot during the Indo-China war, and in the attempted assassination of former Algerian commander Gen. Raoul Salan. Biaggi recently said to a Gaullist member of the government: "My plots always succeed. The proof? You are in power!" Trixier-Vignancour is a lawyer for Pesquet.

BLUEPRINT FOR MURDER: Mittérrand today is the youngest and one of the most capable leaders of the non-communist opposition to the de Gaulle government. It would not be surprising to find him at the top of an assassin's list.

Some aspects of the Mittérrand affair still remain to be cleared up. But piecing together the Senator's own statements and bits dug up by amateur detective work, it would seem that the plotters' blueprint called for these things:

- Sending a reliable but obscure member of their group to the victim to play the I'm-supposed-to-kill-you-but-I-don't-want-to tune until the victim is convinced.
- Letting him work out in detail the time, place and method of assassination with the victim.
- Having him write several letters to himself, covering possible variations of the script and produce at the proper time only the letter that "foretold" the actual events correctly.

DEATH WITHOUT SHOTS: The plotters evidently calculated that, even if the murder attempt misfired, the victim would be dead politically. In fact, after the incident Arrighi was reported to have said jubilantly: "Mittérrand has fallen for it. The whole left is affected by this and won't be able to recover from the blow." And Le Pen was said to have announced triumphantly that "it is possible to kill a politician otherwise than by bullets."

To them the whole thing seemed to be an immense joke. But not everybody was laughing. Pro-Gaullist writer Francois Mauriac editorialized: "Political life in France today has a smell of crime about it."

CEASE-FIRE THREATENED: The situation was indeed grave. The Public Prosecutor has asked the Senate to lift Mittérrand's Parliamentary immunity so he can be prosecuted. The Senator and Pesquet have sued each other for libel. Police have arrested Pesquet and his companion Abel Dahuron, a tenant farmer of Resquet's country place. All this was threatening efforts to reach an Algerian cease-fire. Retired Algeria-born Marshal Alphonse Juin took advantage of the atmosphere to accuse de Gaulle of giving aid to the Algerian rebels.

Juin's statement may stir trouble among the 400,000 French troops in Algeria. Defense Minister Pierre Guillaumat asked the 70-year-old die-hard Marshal to hold "apart from political discussions." In an order of the day to the troops in Algieria, President de Gaulle called for "devotion and discipline" and said: "In full knowledge of the facts, I have fixed . . . our course of action in Algeria."

THIS WAS THE CAR FROM WHICH THE VICTIM ESCAPED
Police gauge direction of bullets that hit Mitterrand auto

French CP amends stand

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE of the French Communist Party on Nov. 3 issued a resolution headed: "For negotiations on the basis of self-determination, for peace in Algeria." The resolution said that President de Gaulle's recognition of the Algerians' right of self-determination indicated a desire to break out of the Algerian deadlock.

Earlier the CP had condemned as tending to delay an Algerian solution de Gaulle's Sept. 16 offer to Algerians of secession with partition, association or integration with France. In its latest statement, the Central Committee admitted that its original opposition to the de Gaulle offer had "deviated on certain points" from earlier stands on the Algeria question. It declared that a negotiated peace with the Algerian rebel leaders remained the primary condition for exercising the right of self-determination.

PAROLE BOARD LETTERS URGED

New plea for Green and Winston

A NEW PLEA for action for parole or Presidential Christmas amnesty for Henry Winston and Gilbert Green has been signed by the Reverends William T. Baird and Alva Tompkins of Chicago, the Reverend A. J. Muste of New York, and the prisoners' wives. The appeal is written on the letterhead of Rev. Baird's Essex Community Church.

Winston and Green have served nearly four years of eight-year sentences (five for violation of the Smith Act and three for contempt). They were eligible for parole a year ago, but their applications were rejected then and again last month.

The new appeal for action says of the latest parole hearing on Oct. 6: "It was our distinct impression . . . that the members of the Parole Board were somewhat impressed by the communications addressed to them and that further expressions along these lines may, perhaps, in time outweigh the pressures operating against parole or executive clemency. The Parole Board may, if it so chooses, reopen the question next January."

HUMAN COST: Letters are urged to the Parole Board (U.S. Board of Parole, H.O.L.C. Building, 101 Indiana Av, Washington, D.C.) and to the President, who will shortly issue his traditional Christmas amnesty to Federal prisoners. Copies of all communications are requested to be sent to Mrs. Lillian Green, 4721 N. Lawndale Av., Chicago 25, Ill. All letters will be treated as confidential.

The appeal asserts that the detention of Green and Winston "is based upon punishment for dissenting beliefs and philosophy, not accompanied by overt acts of violence or incitement to violence." Citing parole figures for all other categories of Federal prisoners, it says that "denial of parole for the second time establishes the fact that our Federal government places these 'political prisoners' in a special category, denying them the substance of Federal rules which are meant to apply to all prisoners."

It concludes: "Aside from considerations of democratic principles which are violated in these cases, we cannot forget the cost in human suffering imposed upon these prisoners and their families—wives, children, and aging parents. Henry Winston has just suffered the loss of his father."

GIL GREEN
Punishment for a dissent

Guests of Honor at the
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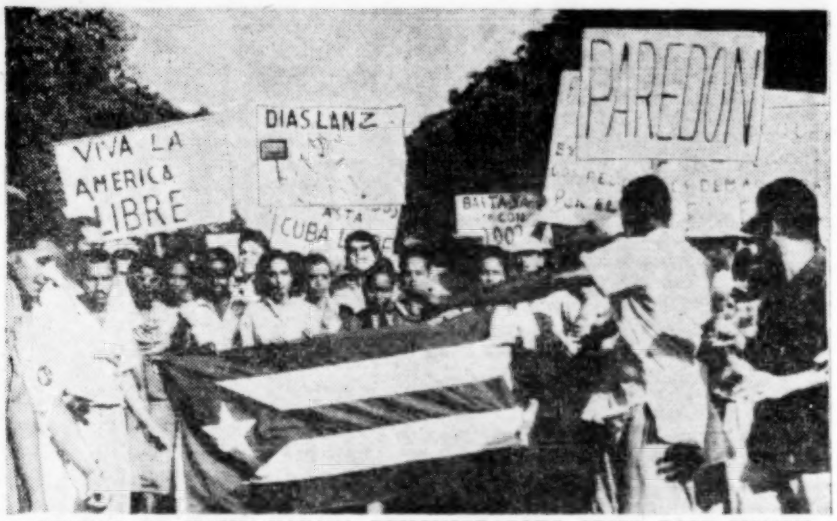


'YANKEE GO HOME' HAVANA DEMONSTRATORS CRIED LAST MONTH
Such protests won some U.S. action against anti-Castro plotters here

Cuban protests

(Continued from Page 1)

ANTI-CASTRO PLOTS: While Washington took these actions, the U.S. press was full of reports of organized campaigns in this country and in Latin America to overthrow the Castro government.

U.S. News & World Report said (Nov. 2) that at least eight or nine Cuban counter-revolutionary movements were flourishing here. The strongest of these, it said, was the "White Rose", headed by Castro's former brother-in-law Rafael Diaz Balart, "once a close associate of Fulgencio Batista."

The New York **World Telegram** carried a story by Ward Cannel (Oct. 31) about an "anti-Castro underground operating from semi-secret headquarters in Florida and the Dominican Republic." Cannel said that, after conferring with members of the underground and "American businessmen with large holdings in Cuba," he could report:

- "Business money is waiting to back a sure winner and none has as yet appeared on the horizon."
- "The anti-Castros are forced to watch, wait and consolidate — inside and out of Cuba."
- Castro is having plenty of trouble at home. One underground member told Cannel: "Don't go to Cuba. If the Castro men don't shoot you, one of ours might —just to pin it on Fidel."

INVASION TALK: Cannel said he found agreement among the underground groups and the businessmen that "American fears and interests must be played on (communism, Russia, profit, etc.) if any anti-Castro movement is to get support." But he also found that the Dominican based anti-Castro forces seemed to be itching for an invasion. One of them told him:

"Invade. We have enough men and arms. We'll worry about getting Trujillo out of Cuba after we're in power."

A New York **Mirror** story (Nov. 3) indicated further development in the anti-Castro campaign.

According to this story, a provisional Cuban government was being organized in the U.S., with Cuba's former UN delegate Emilio Nunez Portuondo as president and former Batista general Jose Pedraza as head of the armed forces. Portuondo went to the Dominican Republic last spring to consult both Trujillo and Batista. He is now in the U.S.; Pedraza is in the Dominican Republic. The provisional government, the **Mirror** said, was planning a program of sabotaging Cuba's sugar industry and its factories.

U.S. REACTS: Washington could hardly ignore the story. The day after it appeared in the **Mirror**, State Dept. spokesman Lincoln White announced the U.S. would not consent to the establishment of an anti-Castro government on its soil. Portuondo quickly denied he planned to head an anti-Castro government. But what he said after this denial was far more significant: with all its distortions, it held the key to the feeling of urgency among the Batista followers in exile.

Portuondo said that the Castro government's agrarian program of taking over foreign-owned sugar estates and its imposition of stiffer taxes on foreign-owned mining concerns would profoundly affect all Latin America. He apparently believed such measures could only be inspired by Moscow. For he added:

"The Castro regime is a Communist regime. He receives instructions from Moscow and Peking . . . If the Castro regime lives six months more all Central and South America will be Communist."

The feeling of urgency among anti-Castro groups stems from the fact that the Cuban government, despite provocations from abroad and counter-revolutionary intrigue at home, has been steadily implementing its agrarian and industrial reform measures.

REAL INDEPENDENCE: Nearly 3,000,000 acres of land and several cattle ranches — some U.S.-owned — have already been distributed or taken over by the government for distribution among the peasants. Government agents have seized and sealed the files of oil companies while a new petroleum law is drafted. International oil company claims cover almost 95% of Cuba, although production of oil has been negligible. A new mineral law has increased taxes and called for registration of claims.

The Cuban government, in fact, is putting its house in order, cleaning up the mess left by previous corrupt dictatorships which handed out concessions indiscriminately and played havoc with the country's economy and resources. It has even hinted at new negotiations on the American naval base at Guantanamo, where the U.S. pays, as the New York **Times** said (Oct. 30), the "ridiculously low" annual rent of $3,386 for the 28,000-acre base.

It is not "communism" but real independence and genuine concern for the welfare of the people that is forging an unbreakable bond between the people and the government and is already affecting other Latin Americans.

Fidel's fatal move

SANTA CLAUS, we read, has been barred from Cuba, as a capitalistic foreigner.

"Christmas decorations must be made of Cuban materials with traditional scenes and Cuban Christmas cards must be used instead of imported ones," the Director of Culture of the Ministry of Education has ruled.

Even the toys must be Cuban made!

Premier Fidel Castro has made many mistakes to date, but this time he has gone too far. Dr. Castro will learn to his sorrow that NOTHING can kill Santa Claus!

Cleveland **Plain Dealer**, Nov. 3

Nov. 3 elections

(Continued from Page 1)

that Gerosa conducted a campaign of "befuddlement and confusion." She indicated, however, that in many communities where school taxes are separated from other levies voters have recently turned down appeals for additional school allocations as a part of their rebellion against the intolerable tax burden.

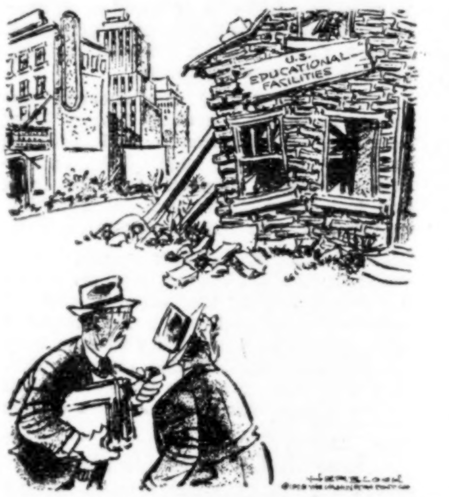
In other contests Democrat John T. Clancy was elected Borough President of Queens by a handsome margin, and Samuel R. Pierce Jr., a Negro interim appointee of Gov. Rockefeller to the Court of General Sessions, narrowly lost in a bid for a permanent place on the bench. Clancy's victory strengthened the conservative faction among the Democrats; Pierce's showing, with the support of independent and Liberal Party voters, encouraged the Lehman-Finletter-Roosevelt anti-machine forces.

NEW JERSEY: Gov. Robert B. Meyner's aspirations for a place on the national ticket were somewhat dimmed by the outcome in his state. He failed by one vote to convert the state senate to the Democrats and suffered losses in the Democratic majority in the assembly. The pocketbook-conscious voters also turned down Meyner's plan to use surplus revenues of the New Jersey Turnpike to subsidize commuter railroads and bus lines.

PHILADELPHIA: Democratic Mayor Richardson Dilworth won a striking vote of confidence as he swamped perennial candidate Harold Stassen. Dilworth's triumph was a tribute to the good government forces and to the mayor's popularity as the best chief executive the city has had for many years. Many observers also felt it spelled the political death knell for Stassen. A "boy-wonder" Governor of Minnesota at 31, the Republican dissident seems washed up at 52. Stassen, however, indicated that his ambition was in no way injured and that he may run again.

KENTUCKY: Despite inner-party sniping from Gov. Albert B. (Happy) Chandler, Democrat Bert T. Combs swamped his Republican opponent in the race for governor. A protege of former Sen. Earle Clements, Combs is expected to throw his support to presidential hopeful Lyndon B. Johnson at the 1960 convention. His running-mate for lieutenant governor, Wilson Wyatt, who also won a landslide victory, is an Adlai Stevenson supporter. Chandler, who would like to be President himself, may not even get to the convention as a delegate.

UTAH: Extreme reactionary J. Bracken Lee won election as mayor of Salt Lake City, Utah's principal municipality. Three years ago Lee had failed in an attempt to retain Utah's governorship. Last year he was turned back in a bid for the U.S. Senate. But on Nov. 3 he defeated Bruce S. Jenkins, a 32-year-old Democratic state senator by 33,307 to 27,394.

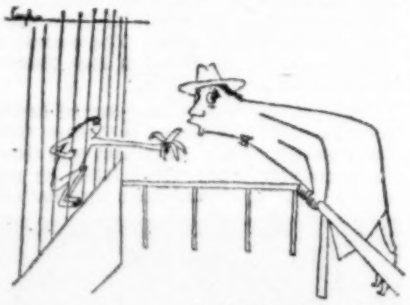


Herblock in Washington Post
"When do you think there'll be some excitement about school DISintegration?"

Long a thorn in the side of the Eisenhower Republicans in his state, Lee is expected to use his office as mayor as a launching pad for another bid for the Senate. There he would have a national platform for the anti-"income tax and big government" program of his reactionary "For America" organization.

MISSISSIPPI: Republicans elected a sleeper candidate for coroner and ranger of Holmes county, but still constitute no threat to the Democrats' one-party dictatorship. Having got control of the party from Negro GOP leader Perry Howard and turned it into a lily-white organization, the white Republicans ran a candidate for the state senate from Hinds County. While Democrats were concentrating on defeating him, the Republicans entered James A. White as candidate for coroner and ranger on Holmes County.

When the Democrats realized how widespread the opposition was, the filing date had passed. They could only defeat White by a write-in. This they did, 434 to 267. But the Attorney General ruled that write-in votes are illegal in Mississippi. So White will serve as a lone representative of the white Republicans in a state run by white Democrats.



London Evening Standard

Harry Raymond dies at 63

HARRY RAYMOND, for 26 years a reporter and feature writer for the **Daily Worker**, died in New York on Oct. 29. He was 63 years old.

Raymond was born in Philadelphia. His varied career included such occupations as circus employe, migratory worker in the West, army sergeant overseas in World War I, and merchant seaman. He became interested in left-wing activities through early contact with the I.W.W.

On March 6, 1930, he was one of a four-man delegation chosen to present to New York's City Hall the demands of more than 100,000 unemployed who demonstrated that day in Union Square. The other three were William Z. Foster, Robert Minor and Israel Amter. With them he served a jail term on Welfare Island; on his release early in 1931 he joined the **Daily Worker** staff where he remained until shortly before the paper suspended publication in January, 1958.

Memorable stories he wrote for his paper included a series in 1934 exposing the operations of Pearl Bergoff and his strikebreaking agency; a series revealing a nest of Franco spies in New York in 1936 which, through the late Fiorello LaGuardia, had repercussions in Congress; and another series in 1946 reporting a weeks-long reign of lynch terror in Columbia, Tenn.

Help get the Guardian on the campus! Introductory Sub. Just $1 for 13 weeks

Shirley Graham to lecture on Africa in Detroit Nov. 24

SHIRLEY GRAHAM, author and lecturer, will speak at the Global Books Forum on the subject "Africa on the March" on Tues., Nov. 24, at 8 p.m. The meeting will be held at McGregor Memorial Conference Center, Ferry and Second Av., Detroit, in Conference Room B.

Miss Graham is the author of a number of books including: **There Was Once a Slave, Your Most Humble Servant, Booker T. Washington, Educator; The Story of Phyllis Wheatley and Story of Pocahontas.** She recently returned from a trip to Africa, Asia and Europe.

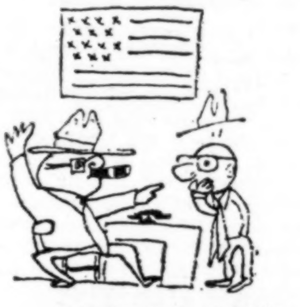
WASHINGTON HEARS INDUSTRY'S CALL FOR HELP

Ike plans law to ban steel strike resumption

By Robert E. Light

WHENEVER BIG STEEL has a problem it turns toward Washington for deliverance. Thus far sensitive ears in the White House have always heard the call and sent help. Last week the steel companies had a new worry: They had enough back-logged orders to keep the mills running near capacity for the next three to six months, but the Taft-Hartley injunction which the Supreme Court upheld Nov. 7 sent the workers back for only 80 days. Secy. of Labor James P. Mitchell seemed to get the message. On Nov. 8 he said that President Eisenhower would recommend legislation to prevent a continuation of the strike when the injunction expires Jan. 26.

At the outset of negotiations last May President Eisenhower declared his neutrality. But every time he has acted or spoken since he has benefited the steel companies. When the industry said it would refuse wage increases to "fight inflation," the President made public appeals for a "non-inflationary" settlement.



Dyad, London Daily Worker

"Sack them steelworkers. We'll have plastic rockets."

ANGRY STRIKERS: As long as stockpiles of steel remained high, President Eisenhower refused to intervene. But when the stock ran low and steel customers began to demand supplies, he invoked the Taft-Hartley law. And when Kaiser Steel settled with the union, he refused to endorse the agreement for the rest of industry, even though Kaiser promised not to raise prices.

In the mills the workers bristled over the injunction. One told the New York **Times**: "It's a direct play against labor." Some directed their anger at President Eisenhower. They questioned his close friendships with former Treasury Secy. George Humphrey, now president of National Steel, and George E. Allen, a director of Republic Steel. In addition, they pointed out that Presidential aide Gerald Morgan, who advised the President on the strike, is a former employe of U.S. Steel.

Negotiations will resume next week. President Eisenhower said he hoped "both sides, realizing their obligation to the United States, will . . . reach a settlement of differences." But with the mills re-opened and the prospect that they will not close again, there seemed to be little pressure on the companies to compromise.

THE PROCEDURE: Under Taft-Hartley, the Presidential board of inquiry must report on the progress of negotiations 60 days after the injunction is issued. In the next 15 days the Natl. Labor Relations Board must conduct a secret ballot of the employes on the employer's last offer. If the employes accept the offer, they continue at work under the new contract. If they reject it, they can resume their strike.

Since the law was passed in 1947 no strikers have voted to accept the management offer. From the mood of the steel workers last week, it seemed they were planning to resume their strike.

Mitchell did not indicate what sort of legislation the President would seek to prevent the strike's resumption. But on Oct. 31-Nov. 1 he met secretly at Camp David with 20 government officials and some private industrial relations experts to formulate a plan in anticipation of the Supreme Court's decision. Since Congress reconvenes Jan. 6, only 20 days before the injunction expires, it seems likely the recommendations will be limited to the steel situation.

THINGS TO COME: But there are others in Washington who saw the need to expand the government's role in all strikes. Sen. George A. Smathers (D-Fla.) proposed establishing a five-man court to have jurisdiction in national disputes. "It would be in the nature of a Supreme Court on labor-management relations," he said, "whose findings and judgments would be final and binding on both parties."

Others proposed compulsory arbitration when collective bargaining broke down. But Mitchell said the Administration was wary of "legislative proposals that might do damage to the free enterprise system." He added: "How can you determine wages by government edict without at the same time determining prices? And if you determine wages and prices you're down the road to socialism, which I certainly do not want."

In upholding the injunction, the Supreme Court split 8 to 1. The majority upheld the law's constitutionality, which the union had challenged, and accepted a broad interpretation of the law's reference to a "danger to the national health and safely." Government attorneys had argued that the "national safety" was imperiled because defense projects were being halted.

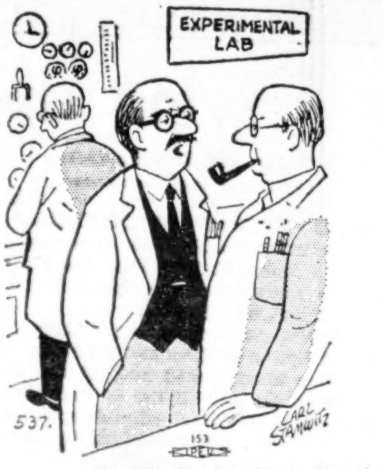
THE DISSENT: In a dissenting opinion Justice William O. Douglas said "national health" referred to "safeguarding the heating of homes, the delivery of milk, the protection of hospitals and the like."

As for "safety," he said the government had not produced details on how much steel it needed for national defense. "I cannot believe," he said, "that Congress intended the Federal courts to issue injunctions that bludgeon all workers merely because the labor of a few of them is needed in the interests of 'national safety.'"

He added: "The injunction applies all the force of the Federal government against men whose work has nothing to do with military defense as well as against those whose inactivity imperils the 'national safety.' . . . Like the old labor injunctions that brought discredit to the Federal judiciary, this is blanket injunction, broad and all-inclusive . . . Being wide of the statutory standard it has, to use the words of Mr. Justice Brandeis, all the vices of the injunction which is used 'to endow property with active, militant power which would make it dominant over men.'"

DIP THE FLAG: He recommended that the case return to the trial court where the government would be ordered to prove why it needed the whole industry instead of just a few plants re-opened for defense needs.

In Washington Sen. Wayne Morse (D-Ore.) said that flags should fly at half staff during the 80 days of the injunction "in memory of the precious loss of freedom for thousands of steel workers." The court's decision, he said, showed "the absolute necessity" for repealing the Taft-Hartley law "if free labor is to survive in our time."



Stamwitz, The Signalman's Journal

"Jason was working on automation that would eliminate some executive jobs, but he was stopped in a hurry."

The court comes clean

THE Appellate Division of the N. Y. State Supreme Court has recently handed down two decisions that are worthy of Solomon himself. In one case they held that it was illegal for a laundromat to be open on Sunday. In another case it held that the conviction of Anthony Aliphantis for going into an illegally open laundromat was wrong. In short, as the headline in the N.Y. **Post** says, "It's Legal to Patronize Illegal Laundries." —**The Liberal**, August, 1959

THREE ENTER T-H PLEAS OF 'NO CONTEST'

Mine, Mill leaders on trial on 'conspiracy' charge

ELEVEN PRESENT and former leaders of the independent Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers went on trial in Denver Nov. 2 on charges of conspiracy to defraud the government by filing false Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavits.

The indictment, handed down in November, 1956, charges that the union leaders conspired between 1949 and 1955 with four Communist Party officials — named as co-conspirators but not as co-defendants — to pretend to leave the CP in order to qualify the union before the Natl. Labor Relations Board.

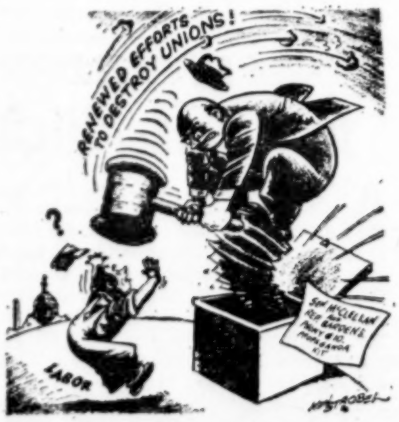
The indictment cited 14 union leaders, but three separated themselves from the current trial. One of the defendants, Alton Lawrence, executive board member from Bessemer, Ala., asked to be tried separately from Asbury Howard, Negro vice president from the same city.

Affidavits filed by Lawrence's family physician and the president of the Bessemer Chamber of Commerce said that "if Alton Lawrence (a white man) and Asbury Howard (a Negro man), both local citizens, are tried at the same time in Denver . . . there will be strong public reaction here in Bessemer against Lawrence and his wife and members of their respective families." The affidavits also referred to Howard as a "generally unacceptable public character." Judge Alfred A. Arraj rejected the motion and Lawrence entered a plea of **nolo contendere** (no contest).

RESIGNATION ACCEPTED: A union statement on Oct. 23 said: "The Intl. Executive Board assures our membership, the Negro people and the general public that the racist statements made in the affidavits filed in behalf of Alton Lawrence are unanimously condemned by the Board and the resignation of Lawrence unanimously accepted."

Just before the trial opened two other defendants entered no contest pleas. They were Graham Dolan, the union's publicity director (he resigned immediately) and Albert Pezatti, who retired last spring as secretary-treasurer. They gave no reason for their actions. The judge postponed their sentencing until the end of the trial.

The remaining defendants include: Raymond Dennis, executive board; Irving Dichter, secy.-treasurer; James H. Durkin, former international representative; Asbury Howard, vice president; Jack Marcotti, regional director; Chase Powers, executive board; Harold Sanderson, comptroller; Albert Skinner, executive board; Maurice E. Travis, former secy.-treasurer; Jesse Van Camp and Charles Wilson, both international representatives.


RENEWED EFFORTS TO DESTROY UNIONS!
?
LABOR

"In Transit", Washington, D.C.

They Never Give Up!

THE PENALTIES: All face maximum penalties of five years' imprisonment and a $10,000 fine if convicted. They are being defended by Nathan Witt, the union's general counsel, Telford Taylor and George Francis.

In Cleveland seven union leaders were convicted of similar conspiracy charges in January, 1958. Their case is now on appeal.

Travis, who is no longer with the union, was tried twice on charges of filing false T-H affidavits. He was convicted in 1955 but the decision was reversed on appeal. Last year he was retried and convicted. Currently he has two appeals before the Supreme Court; one asks for reversal of the conviction and the other calls for a new trial because of alleged prejudiced testimony by government witnesses.

In the current trial the judge rejected a defense motion to separate Travis' case. The defense held that the adverse publicity in Travis' previous trials would be prejudicial to the other defendants.

THE PUZZLE: Union president John Clark, in the November issue of the union paper, **Mine-Mill Union,** pointed out that the new Landrum-Griffin labor "reform" law eliminates the non-Communist oath. "This creates another puzzle," he said. "A case of conspiracy against a part of a law that has been revoked."

He also pointed out that the decision to comply with the T-H non-Communist oaths was made by the executive board and later by a union convention. "If there is any vestige of 'conspiracy' or any foundation in these charges," he said, "then conspiracy can be charged against any union or its leadership who meet to plan for the welfare of its members to offset the dangers incurred to their programs in the passage of Taft-Hartley Acts, Labor Control Acts, or what have you."

LONG TRIAL SEEN: Elsewhere the union paper pointed out that if the government had evidence that any of the defendants had signed false oaths, it could have prosecuted them individually. But by now the statute of limitations has run out.

"As for 'communism'," the paper said, "the union's executive board and conventions are on record as holding 'no brief for communism' and as 'devoted to the American democratic system.'"

The trial is expected to last two to three months.

DAMASCUS CALLED 'REAL FRONT IN ARAB NATIONALIST STRUGGLE'

Syria unrest strains tie to Egypt

By Tabitha Petran
Guardian staff correspondent

CAIRO

THE RECENT APPOINTMENT of United Arab Republic vice president Field Marshal Abdul Hakim Amer as supreme governor of the Syrian region is an admission of trouble.

Reports of clashes near Aleppo between Syrian soldiers and Egyptian officers are unconfirmed and, at the least, exaggerated. But Syria is suffering a creeping paralysis of administrative and economic life, a paralysis fed by discontent.

The controlled Cairo press is frank in acknowledging that Damascus "has become the real front" of what it calls "the Arab nationalist struggle," and that Amer's dictatorial powers are necessary to "deal effectively with and counteract the destructive efforts of the hidden and overt enemies of Arab nationalism."

IRAQI PREMIER KASSIM RECUPERATES FROM ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT
Egypt's take-over in Syria seen as a new move against Iraq

FATE OF BAATH: The need for President Nasser to appoint an Egyptian proconsul in Syria confirms an earlier indication of the trend of Syrian public opinion: the fate suffered by the Baath Party. It was the Baath which engineered the hasty union of Egypt and Syria in February, 1958, exploiting genuine unity sentiment to destroy growing communist strength and block the development of a national front between communists and nationalist-minded businessmen.

After Union, the Baath, although ostensibly dissolved as a political entity, secured most of the important posts in the Syrian regional government. Its opposition to all who did not give it 100% support earned it enemies on all sides, and the people soon began to blame the Baath for the disappointments and difficulties of Union.

The Baath's overwhelming defeat in the National Union elections last July 8 revealed the extent of Syrian resentment to union-in-practice. Reeling under this shock, it received another in the form of President Nasser's clearly implied disapproval. Baathist ministers slid into obscurity. Baathist leader and UAR vice president Akram Hourani sulked in Damascus and refused even to attend the opening of the Damascus International Fair this fall.

FINAL BLOW: The party soon split. At a conference in Beirut, one group led by Michel Aflak, its so-called theoretician, insisted the Baath should maintain its ideology and program and reassert its identity. The other, led by Baathist Ministers, demanded continued support of the UAR's party-less regime. The only Minister to support Aflak was reported to have been Riad Malki, who was later dismissed and is now reported—without confirmation—to be under house arrest.

Upshot of the Beirut conference was the expulsion from the Baath of Hourani and other prominent party leaders not only from Syria but also from Jordan and Iraq.

Although the Baath was never as strong in Syria as its own and Western propaganda claimed, its collapse is a reflection of the state of affairs in Syria. Amer's appointment would seem to be the final blow, ending any role or influence it may have had in the UAR regime. In addition to his job as supreme governor, Amer was placed in charge of the Syrian branch of the National Union, the government machine designed to win it popular support. The fact that no Syrian could be found for this post needs no comment.

ECONOMIC FACTORS: Resentment against the arrogance of the Baath and the Egyptian "leadership" role has been deepened by the economic difficulties of the past two years. Two bad harvests are partly to blame: the wheat crop in 1958 and 1959 was less than half what it was in 1957, the barley crop barely a third.

But Cairo's policies are also responsible: the textile, cheese, shoe, leather and cigarette industries, among others, are hard hit by Cairo-imposed trade policies. Suppression of democratic institutions, however imperfect they were, has weakened the trade unions (which are now government-controlled) at a time when unemployment is spreading; hence wages are being cut and hours lengthened. An effort to bring the Syrian wage level down to the Egyptian is under way. Taxes, both direct and indirect, have been increased. Thousands of government employes have been dismissed, their places taken, according to some charges, by Egyptians or government stooges.

Unquestionably, some of the "sacrifices" imposed on Syria are necessary if any real economic development and industrialization is to be achieved. What Syrians appear to resent is their subordinate role in planning and executing programs. Their resentment feeds on the suspicion that in Cairo's plans Syria is slated to remain largely agricultural while industrialization is concentrated in Egypt. They cite, for example, laws such as those recently decreed governing banks and insurance companies: Egyptian banks and insurance companies can operate in Syria (and in fact Egypt's Misr Bank has largely taken over the financing of Syria's cotton crop and other operations) but Syrian banks and insurance companies cannot operate in Egypt.

IRAQ: Amer's appointment follows the failure of the attempt to assassinate Iraq's Prime Minister Abdul Kerim Kassim. Baghdad holds the UAR responsible for this attempt and links it to the reported massing of UAR troops on the Syrian-Iraqi border. Cairo's **Al Akbar** stated: "Amer's appointment is directed against Iraq."

Persistent rumors predicting new troubles in Iraq in October, and this time in Baghdad itself, had been current in Damascus, Beirut, and other capitals since last summer. The tone of Cairo-Damascus anti-Kassim propaganda since the abortive attempt and its repeated promise that "next time the bullets won't miss" lend a certain substance to Baghdad's charges.

The objective of the conspiracy was said to have been to eliminate Kassim, blame the communists, and so induce the Iraqi army to crush the communists, thus paving the way for a UAR-Iraq "reconciliation."

If the UAR was directly or indirectly behind the assassination attempt, this resort to terrorism marks a progressive degeneration of the position of its supporters in Iraq. Yet the attempt would appear to have been well organized; in the circumstances the demand for People's Court Judge Medhawi for a purge of the Iraqi security administration and police would appear crucial.

EGYPT: Amer's appointment was accompanied by others which suggest a shift to the right in the UAR government apparatus. Leadership of the National Union in Egypt has now been entrusted to one of the most right-wing of the Free Officers, Education Minister Kamal Eddine Hussein; and the National Union is being once again reorganized. At the same time, Mohamed Toema, a leader of the National Union's predecessor, the Liberation Rally, a rightist who has been somewhat in eclipse in recent years, was brought into the cabinet.

These moves have been made in an atmosphere of cautious expectation as Cairo awaits the results of its recent financial and economic missions to the U.S. and the World Bank. Its campaign against China—over an anti-UAR speech delivered by Syrian CP leader Khalid Bagdash at Peking's 10th anniversary celebrations—was timed, many here believe, to coincide with the UAR initiative in Washington. With the return of these missions and the absence of any indications that Western loans will be forthcoming, the campaign has now ended as abruptly as it began.

Meanwhile, Czechoslovakia offered a new loan. Cairo wits comment: "Kaissouni (Minister of Economy) went to Washington and came back with a loan from Czechoslovakia."

New World Review marks U.S.S.R. 42nd anniversary

MARKING THE 42ND anniversary of the Soviet Union and 26 years of U.S.-Soviet diplomatic relations, **New World Review** has prepared an enlarged November issue.

Barrows Dunham, W. E. B. Du Bois, Anton Refregier, Holland Roberts, Corliss Lamont and Rockwell Kent describe their recent visits to the Soviet Union, Albert Rhys Williams writes of his friendship with Lenin, and Anna Louise Strong reports the India-China border dispute. Single copies and subscriptions are available from the magazine's office at 34 W. 15th St., New York 11.

PADLOCK REMOVED FROM INTERRACIAL SCHOOL

Jury finds Highlander guilty; judge to decide issue

AN ALL-WHITE jury in Altamont, Tenn., took only 47 minutes on Nov. 6 to decide that Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, a 27-year-old interracial adult education center, was operated for the personal benefit of its director, Myles Horton, in violation of its state charter. But the jury's verdict was only advisory and Circuit Court Judge Chester C. Chattin gave the defense 30 days in which to file briefs and the State ten days to answer, thus putting off a final decision for at least six weeks.

At the start of the charter revocation trial, State Attorney General Albert F. Sloan announced he was dropping an earlier suit to close the school on a general charge that it is a "public nuisance," and a padlock put on the school's main building last Sept. 26 was removed. This was regarded by the Highlander officials as a partial victory. Pending final outcome of the revocation action, the school will continue its work. On Nov. 3 citizenship schools sponsored by Highlander got under way on the Carolina Sea Islands, and a workshop for ministers and social workers will begin later this month.

COUNTS REDUCED: At the start of the trial, the State presented nine counts against the school, but Judge Chattin whittled these down to three and eventually submitted only one to the jury. He said he would decide a State contention that Highlander's interracial policies violated a 58-year-old state segregation law. The third charge—that the school unlawfully sold beer, gasoline, soft drinks and candy—he ruled out as not a ground on which the school's charter could be revoked.

The State based its charge of personal enrichment on the fact that the Highlander board and executive council in 1957 deeded to Horton a 70-acre tract of school property on which Mr. and Mrs. Horton had built their home at their own expense. Horton testified that for 20 of the school's 27 years he had drawn no salary; he now receives $9,000 a year. His testimony and minute books indicated that the property transfer was "in appreciation" of his pay-less service.

An impressive list of educators and other witnesses appeared for the defense. Dr. Morris Mitchell, president of the Putney Graduate School for Teacher Education, Putney, Vt., said: "There must always be schools out in front on education processes [and] Highlander is one of the most valuable schools in America in that regard." Dr. A. A. Liveright of Chicago University said "Horton is one of the outstanding adult educators in the nation" and could command a much higher salary than he currently receives at Highland if he accepted a similar post in another institution.

ASSETS UP: Certified public accountant H. B. Herrell, the school's auditor, testified that Highlander's assets and net worth, instead of being dissipated, have increased substantially in the last two years. Storekeepers and the director of the Sales and Use Tax Division of the State Dept. of Finance and Taxation testified that it was a common practice for schools to sell soft drinks and candy bars without payment of such taxes.

Meanwhile, protests against the treatment of Highlander continued to reach Gov. Buford Ellington at Nashville. An increasing number of prominent Americans signed the protest, which was initiated by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Dr. Hugh Morgan of Nashville and others.

PORTRAIT OF A 'LIBERAL' SOUTHERN STATE

Why North Carolina was picked for Toure visit

By Louis E. Burnham

WHEN PRESIDENT Sekou Touré of the West African Republic of Guinea requested that a Southern state be included on his U.S. itinerary, State Dept. officials probably didn't have to ponder long before deciding that North Carolina would be the place. Mississippi might have been more enlightening, but it would also have been quite impossible. The very notion of a Dixie governor playing host to the distinguished African leader would have caused minor political upheavals in most deep-South areas.

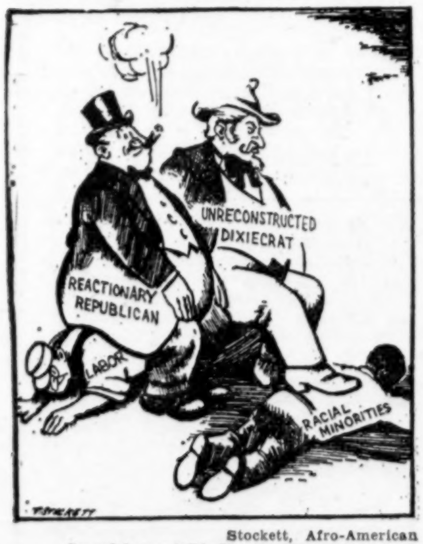
But North Carolinians took the visit more or less in stride. Gov. Hodges met President Touré's plane, sponsored a dinner at the Univ. of North Carolina for the visitor's party and a small group of white and Negro Carolinians, and arranged for the African guests to spend the night at the Carolina Inn, normally a jimcrow hostelry. From there Touré went on to Durham to receive an honorary degree at a Negro state university and visit the offices of the North Carolina Mutual, largest Negro insurance company in the country.

Carolinians have long pointed to their state as the most liberal in the South. While the claim may be largely due to the poor quality of the competition, it undoubtedly has some basis in the history of the state's politics and economics.

THE ARISTOCRACY: Actually, North Carolina is a tri-partite state. The Black Belt counties in the northeast provided the main locale of the plantations and the slave power and remain today the principal bulwark against full emancipation. The central-state Piedmont area became the site of industry and organization and the center of political power. The Blue Ridge land in the west is an area of relatively small Negro population, small land holdings and stubbornly independent mountain folk.

Centered around Greensboro, Winston-Salem, Charlotte and Durham, an aggressive industrial and banking aristocracy dominates the political life of the state. Its position has been considerably strengthened by post-war plant construction and expansion which underscore North Carolina's position as the most industrialized state in the South.

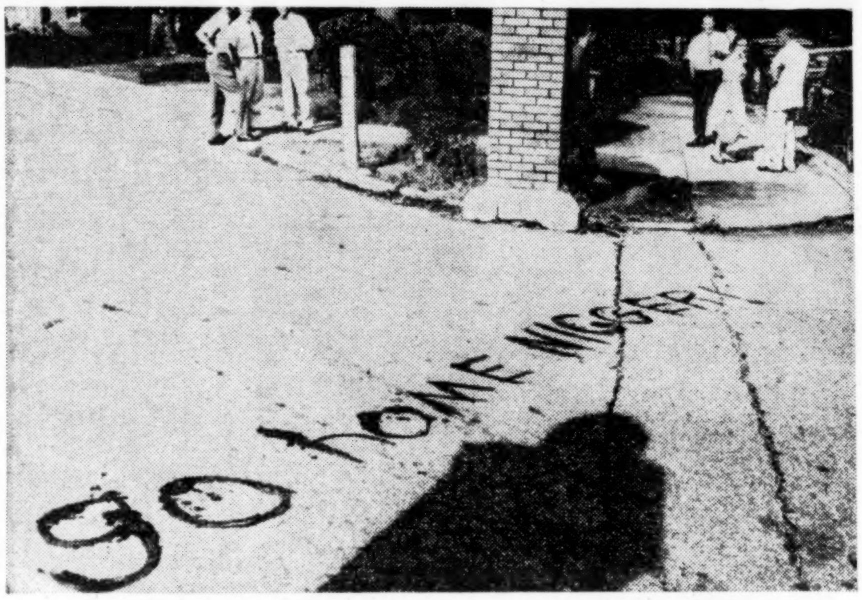
Textile, the nation's perpetual "sick" industry, is North Carolina's principal manufacturing industry. There are 600,000 textile workers in the South, producing 80% of the country's fabrics, and North Carolina mills employ more than any other state. The world's largest textile company, Burlington Mills, Inc., operates 60 plants in 35 North Carolina communities.



Stockett, Afro-American

Speaking of Birds of a Feather

HARD WORK—LOW PAY: Tobacco processing and furniture manufacture are the state's other traditional major industries. In the huge plants of the R. J. Reynolds Co. at Winston-Salem, Liggett & Myers and the American Tobacco Co. at Durham, P. Lorillard at Greensboro, and a few others, Tar Heel workers produce 52% of the nation's cigarettes.



JIMCROW IS STILL JIMCROW DESPITE 'LIBERAL' VENEER

This message appeared in High Point, N.C., when two Negro girls were admitted to the town's junior and senior high schools.

These industries share several features in common: the pay is low, the speed-up is intense, and unions are weak or non-existent. As a result, the 473,000 manufacturing workers in North Carolina earn an average hourly wage of $1.28, or 57% of the $2.24 average pay of Michigan workers. While the average in Michigan (where thousands of workers in heavy industry enjoy union protection) is high for the nation, the North Carolina figure is 25% below the national average.

Another feature of industry in North Carolina is that it is jimcrow. Negro workers are either excluded altogether or shunted to unskilled and menial tasks. Textile is the worst offender. The Negro worker who gets a job at the loom in a textile plant is still so rare as to merit a write-up in the Negro press as a "first." Ordinarily the only connection the Negro workers have with the mill is to sweep up the leavings of the loom or to clean up the toilets of the white production workers. For this work as maids and janitors Negro women earn $10 or $15 a week and the men but little more.

In the furniture and tobacco plants Negro workers are not so completely shut out of production jobs, but they are bunched in the hard-labor, "green" end of the process. One of the memorable struggles of the trade union movement has been the efforts of the Negro women tobacco steamers at the R. J. Reynolds Winston-Salem plant to win union recognition, higher pay and the right to promotion based on seniority. Today, still without effective union protection, these women earn $1.25, and often $1, an hour.

THAT AFL-CIO DRIVE: The plight of Negroes in industry in North Carolina must give pause to those who contend that industrialization, alone, provides the key to equality. The state provides the classic example of the transfer of the patterns of the plantation to a factory setting. This process has characterized the development of industry throughout the South. It does not tend toward the development of amity between white and Negro workers based on an appreciation of mutual problems. Rather, it engenders bitterness because each is frozen in his status and fearful of the other. Eventually the Negro would-be worker migrates North because factories in his own state are closed to him. And the white worker tolerates lower pay and a more despotic boss than he would outside the South because the employer can always warn him that if he has any truck with unions—well, there are always the Negroes who can be hired for less.

The solution to this problem would seem to lie largely in the AFL-CIO's long-heralded but never-launched Southern organizing drive. Only when the unions open their ranks to all workers and enforce job classifications based on skill and seniority, not race, will white workers in North Carolina escape the Southern wage differential and Negro workers gain a foothold in industry.

That the employers will not create these conditions is indicated by the fact that new industries which have come to the state since the end of World War II have adopted the patterns of the old. North Carolina has led other Southern states in attracting new plant construction. Electronics, chemicals and some metals have figured prominently among the newcomers. In all of these the same jimcrow, low-wage pattern has prevailed.

THE COME-ON: Gov. Hodges has been the main salesman for the further industrialization of the state. Himself a retired business man (he was a director of the Marshall Field Co., general manager of the 29 Fieldcrest mills and a director of the American Thread Co.), he has led delegations of industrialists and financiers to New York, Philadelphia and other Northern centers seeking capital investments.

The Governor's inducements have been the usual ones. In 1957 the state legislature revised the tax structure in the interest of big business concerns. Hodges could also point to a "pool of 100,000 workers"—including thousands being displaced from the farms and the 20% of the industrial working force which is unemployed, ready to go to work in new factories. Directly after President Touré's visit, the governor became the first Southern chief executive to take an industry-hunting expedition overseas. He led a group of Tar Heel tycoons in a two-week round of luncheons with industrialists and financiers in Britain, France, Germany, the Netherlands and Switzerland.

While industry, old and new, has done little to alter the subordinate position of Negroes in North Carolina life, it has had some salutary effect. The very fact of the existence of a considerable working class fosters the development of a larger and more enlightened group of middle-class professionals and intellectuals in the state. This group, in turn, wields some influence in politics and throttles some of the more fanatic anti-Negro manifestations which are common in other Southern states. Politics in North Carolina is still almost exclusively a white man's affair, but the white men exert their supremacy with more gentility than elsewhere in the South.

WHAT MODERATION MEANS: This generalization breaks down in some Eastern counties where race relations are as ragged as anywhere in Mississippi, but for the state as a whole it is valid. The result is that North Carolina has carefully avoided becoming one of the storm centers in the battle to integrate Southern schools. But it has just as carefully avoided integration on anything more than a token basis.

Of 300,000 Negro public school pupils in the state, only 54 have been admitted to formerly white schools. Immediately after the Supreme Court's 1954 and 1955 integration decisions the General Assembly created the North Carolina Advisory Committee on Education, a group plainly designed to frustrate desegregation efforts. Following the Committee's recommendations, the legislature adopted the Pearsall Plan and other new school laws. Key among them was a pupil placement law, a statute authorizing closure of schools by majority vote in the school districts and the offer of tuition grants to students who prefer not to attend integrated schools. The Supreme Court's recent action validating the pupil placement law "on its face" indicates that a long and bitter battle will be required to break through the legal bulwark thrown around the 2,000 white public schools by the politicians of the most liberal state in the South.

NO PROGRESS: Of the state's population of 4,061,929, fully a fourth (1,047,353) are Negroes. But among registered voters, Negroes are only 7%. And the 135,000 Negroes registered in the state are largely concentrated in a half-dozen urban centers. Negro political strength in these cities has resulted in the election of several Negroes to municipal governing bodies, beginning with the election of an alderman in Winston-Salem in 1947. But the Negro is still far removed from the political influence he enjoyed in the state during the Reconstruction period and the Populist-fusion days of the Nineties before the industrialists got a strangle-hold on the state.

For more than two years the NAACP has campaigned to add 250,000 Negroes to the voting lists by 1960, but progress has been slight. Little has been done to register a break-through in the northeastern areas where literacy tests, applied by biased registrars, serve to render Negroes voteless. A challenge to the legality of the tests, initiated by a Negro housewife of Northampton County, Mrs. Louise Lassiter, is now on its way to the Supreme Court for decision.

For many years the "moderate" business leaders who control North Carolina have had their counterparts in Negro life. A group of bankers, insurance executives and college presidents have wielded unchallenged authority in Negro affairs. For a time this group cared little for the NAACP and did nothing to foster its growth in the state. More recently it has summoned some vigor in championing the cause of voting rights and school integration. But still it moves too slowly to meet the aspirations of many younger men and women emerging in the Negro communities. Therein lies the significance of the storm which raged around Robert F. Williams, deposed president of the Union County NAACP, who advocated that Negroes meet violence with violence. A new, restless, insistent generation of Negroes is moving to the fore in the South and patterns of leadership are beginning to change.

President Touré may not have known all this when he visited North Carolina and it's a sure thing Gov. Hodges did nothing to enlighten him.

How ruthless can you get?

NEW YORK, Oct. 10 (AP)—Harvard historian Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. said today that the Soviet Union now gets things done not by "ruthless coercion as under Stalin but by ruthless enthusiasm."

BOOKS

Rediscovery of Africa's civilization

THIS EXCELLENT BOOK* has a rather misleading title. The title of its introduction, "The Rediscovery of Africa," should be the title of the book and while the author says much of the lost cities of Africa, the book is really an indispensable account of what has been done by ethnology, archaeology, and chemistry to rebuild our conception of the history of the African continent.

Mr. Davidson, who has written two other books on Africa and one on China, has traveled widely in the world and speaks with authority. He reminds us that for centuries Africa was a land of fable and legend, the seat of great kingdoms and great wealth and especially of the mysterious kingdom of Prester John. However, in the last 200 years there has come a different belief due to the fact that Africa had been the seat of a slave trade to America and to the East.

MEN OF EXPERIENCE and learning declared that Africa was without a past and without history, that its peoples had always lived in savagery and in century-long stagnation. Numerous traces of early African civilization were ignored or attributed to other peoples.

Today, however, archaeology has triumphed and it is certain that there was a civilization in Africa not only highly developed, but of distinctly African origin and culture. It is known that Punt and Kush were advanced African cultures in the Nile valley more than a thousand years before Christ.

It is not so well known that a great development of African civilization took place south of the Sahara in medieval times when the kingdoms of Melle and Songhay were alive. At the same time there were mercantile centers on the African coast where a thriving trade was carried on between Africa, India, and China; and in addition to that we have long known of the mysterious states in the Interior, like the kingdoms of the Monomotapa and Zimbabwe.

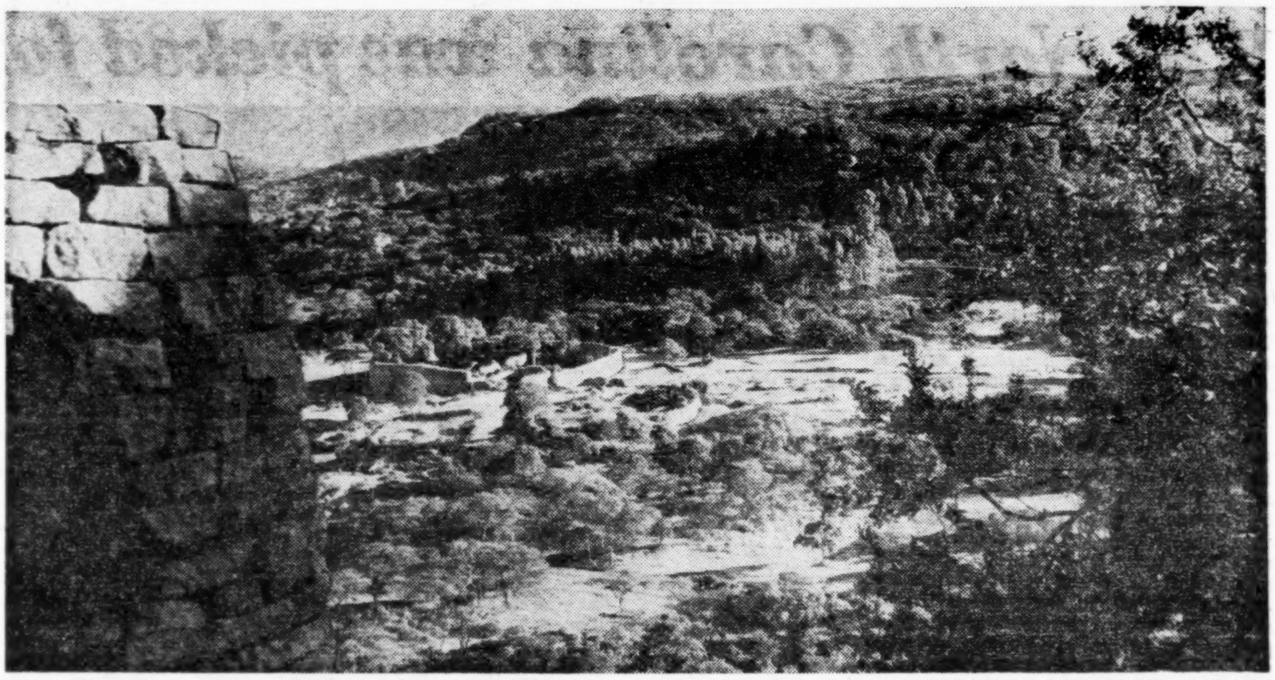
WHITES ONLY

MR. DAVIDSON has added to our present knowledge the astonishing results of recent archaeological exploration. The book is not easy reading because the author is careful not to express certain and clear conclusions. He gives evidence on both sides of those who would minimize African culture and of enthusiastic defenders of it.

His own conclusions are often left rather uncertain, but they do sustain the growing idea that the culture of Africa is peculiar and different from that of Europe and Asia and yet tremendously significant and developed to a high degree. There was not only agriculture and irrigation, there was widespread commerce, domestic and foreign, and there was an astonishing development of law and government. The difference from Europe and the individuality of African history calls for new and intent study. We are deeply indebted to Mr. Davidson for guiding us in this direction.

—**W. E. B. Du Bois**

**THE LOST CITIES OF AFRICA, by Basil Davidson. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. 360 pp. $6.50.*



THE ZIMBABWE RUINS IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA PROVE AN ANCIENT HIGH CIVILIZATION BELOW THE SAHARA
The structure at the left is built with hewn granite blocks; it overlooks what is known as the Zimbabwe "Acropolis."

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America's mood

(Continued from Page 1)

States relations with the Soviet Union."

IF NIXON STANDS ready at any shift of the wind to jump back on the cold war bandwagon, there are others of greater dedication and integrity who seek to keep the direction of the wind steady. In the Los Angeles **Tribune**, a Negro weekly, its forthright editor Almena Lomax wrote on Oct. 16:

"Each day as the details of the Soviet Premier's momentous visit to the United States fade, and as the propagandists work feverishly to refreeze the cold war, it becomes apparent that if we are to win the peace, the little people of America must do it. We must do it by keeping alive our memory of what Khrushchev said, and how he said it, and of what our own leaders said and how they said it. An effort is being made to brainwash us so that the cold war will regain freezing temperature. It is obvious that each of us has a duty to resist this by nailing the lie and the liars in their tracks."

Another plea for a truth campaign came in a letter to the Washington **Post & Times-Herald** from Rabbi Balfour Brickner of Temple Sinai, Washington. He wrote: "For over a decade now the vast bulk of press, TV and radio have been carefully cultivating a hatred of communism and an image of Russia as 'the enemy of man' which I believe we will soon come to regret. So successful has this attempt been that now our hatred borders on the kind of myopic prejudice which admits of little or no reason and even less tolerance."

BUT REASON and tolerance have been making their way, despite Rabbi Brickner's pessimism. In the last weeks, these things—among many others—have happened:

- The U.S. and the U.S.S.R. and 10 other nations have agreed to keep the vast Antarctica region free of war.
- The Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare has reported that the U.S. and the U.S.S.R are close to agreement on joint medical research projects.
- There are strong indications that there will be an easing of trade restrictions against the U.S.S.R. which would end an admittedly discriminatory situation.
- Exchanges of visits are continuing with enthusiasm, the latest in the U.S. being that of a group of Soviet economists who were invited to Wall Street and Madison Avenue to see what makes American capitalism tick. (The word was that they saw "no reason for having advertising agencies" in the Soviet Union and, it follows, no quiz shows.)
- The campaign in the U.S. for a ban on nuclear bomb tests is growing in strength. A meeting sponsored by the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, featuring Nobel Prize laureate Dr. Linus Pauling, drew 3,000 persons to New York's Carnegie Hall. In Hollywood, several prominent film personalities have joined the Ban-the-Bomb campaign in the most effective demonstration for sanity in the film capital since the witchhunt and the blacklist imposed a reign of silence there.
- The **Nation's Business**, organ of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, in an optimistic survey in its issue of October, 1959, said: "Any abrupt softening of cold war pressures — if it comes — can bring this country a boom, not the recession suggested by such phrases as 'peace scare'."
- Before an audience of 400 government officials, business leaders and others, the president of the American Forestry Assn. called for an up-to-date program of natural resources conservation—the program to be financed by the billions of dollars now being used for arms.
- The International Woodworkers of America (AFL-CIO), in a strong resolution at its convention urging an end to the cold war, favored an exchange of workers' delegations between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.
- Emile Benoit, a professor of international business at Columbia University, in a letter to the New York **Times** proposed "a world conference of private citizens to explore new paths to cooperation, and to clarify and to dramatize the real issues confronting mankind."
- The Washington **Post & Times-Herald** in an editorial noting "the language barrier that separates the American and Soviet peoples," asked: "Would it not be feasible for President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Khrushchev to call a language conference?"

IN THE MIDST of this burgeoning sentiment for peace, a great debate is building up on foreign policy in which political party labels have lost all meaning.

On the one side are the cold warriors of the Truman type, led by the bomb-happy former President himself—living in his past "glory" when the first atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the fire bombs were falling on the people of Korea—calling for still more bombs to be exploded. In this group are Truman's Secretary of State Dean Acheson, who insists that there be no negotiations with the Soviet Union on Germany—meaning that there be no negotiations on anything. New York's Governor Rockefeller, the most frantically reluctant candidate for President in decades, pushing his platform of atom bombs and bomb shelters; Harvard University's Henry Kissinger, whose "limited war" propagation is financed by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund; the soul-less slick magazines epitomized by Henry Luce's **Fortune** which, in its November issue, called for renewed pressure on the U.S.S.R. through even bigger arms expenditures; the incredible misleaders of labor, such as George Meany, Walter Reuther and David Dubinsky, who have never stopped trying to disinter the bones of John Foster Dulles; and the unpeaceful princes of the Roman Catholic Church.

On the other side are the sober re-evaluators such as George F. Kennan, a former Ambassador to the Soviet Union and author of the discredited policy of "containment"; Adlai Stevenson, twice a Presidential candidate and the lone Democrat of stature who went out of his way to greet Premier Khrushchev; respected commentators like Walter Lippmann; a good-sized segment of the business community which is seeking ways and means to convert the American economy to fit into a world at peace; and the American people.

OF THE TRUMAN-ACHESON policy, Lippmann wrote on Oct. 22: "This is an impossible platform from which to exercise world leadership. Moreover, this negativism contains within it an ugly thing, which is quite evident and quite well known everywhere. This ugly thing is the belief that without perpetual tension and fear the democracies cannot be induced to support the necessary armaments, or trusted not to appease the adversary and to sink into cowardice and lethargy. What lies at the root of this thing is that the democracies cannot be trusted and that they must be terrorized.

. . . The time has come when our leaders will have to learn how to persuade and convince the people, not merely to frighten and stampede them, into doing what is necessary for them to do."

Even more strongly, Kennan, who is now a professor at the Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton, urged that Washington drop its insistence on what he called the principle of "first use" of atomic weapons. Then, he added:

"Having taken this decision, let us then proceed in a major way, hopefully and wholeheartedly, as we have never been able to proceed in the past, to see what can be done to get this nightmare of atomic war removed from the lives of ourselves and our children."

Speaking of the future, he seemed to accept the accuracy of Premier Khrushchev's prediction that the Soviet Union would draw ahead of the United States in most aspects of life and progress. He said:

"If you ask me whether a country with no highly developed sense of national purpose, with the overwhelming accent of life on personal comfort, with a dearth of public services and a surfeit of privately sold gadgetry, with insufficient social discipline even to keep its major industries functioning without grievous interruption—if you ask me whether such a country has in the long run a good chance of competing with a purposeful, serious and disciplined society such as that of the Soviet Union, I must say that the answer is 'No.'"

A SAD AND WISTFUL note runs through these statements. They cry for a spark, for a leadership which is lacking in Washington. In fits and starts, the President supplies the spark; then, tired and obviously looking toward his retirement on Jan. 1, 1961, he delegates the tasks to incompetent or unwilling lieutenants.

In this situation, the eyes of the world focus on the Presidential elections of 1960. Even the least astute observers concede that the overriding issue of the campaign will be Peace.

Chalmers Roberts in the Washington **Post & Times-Herald** said: "Now it is up to the candidates to show which of them best understands America's problems and which of them has the courage and the confidence to lead the Nation into what can be a new great age."

What is offered to the American people as a choice? A collection of mediocrities among whom it is even hard to find a man of good will or even outstanding intelligence. This is the lineup:

For the Republicans: Richard Nixon and Nelson Rockefeller, each vying with the other in an unparalleled public display of opportunism and lack of conviction. For the Democrats: Lyndon Johnson, who has moderated the Senate into a course of miserable legislative regression; Senator Stuart Symington of Missouri, whose sole claim to fame (read: publicity) is that he likes to play with airplanes; Senator John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts, who makes hardly a move without a go-ahead from Cardinal Cushing of Boston; and Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, who can double-talk his way into and out of any situation that confronts him and the nation.

RECENTLY, Gov. Edmund Brown of California, who has been acting like a candidate too, sent out letters soliciting replies on the course the Democratic Party should take in 1960. The soundest reply came from Richard Lynden, an official of the independent Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union of the West Coast.

He said that a vigorous plan for peace was the Democrats' only hope for victory in 1960. Of the candidates and potential candidates, said Lynden, only Adlai Stevenson has shown "any inclination to come to grips with this issue of peace. It is our opinion that any failure to approach the matter in this way will result in the Democratic Party evacuating the field for all practical purposes in our lifetime. It seems to us that it would be extremely foolish to ignore the longings and aspirations for peace expressed by the American people during the Khrushchev visit."

Whether the Democratic machine—for its own survival if for no other reason—will accept Stevenson remains to be seen. But if they pay any heed to the people—and there is every indication that the people will be vocal in the next campaign—they will begin to discard the hacks who are now barnstorming the nation.

THUS, 42 DAYS after the visit that shook America the mood of the American people is one of longing for peace. It is as yet a not-too-articulate expression; it is the voice of a people who have almost forgotten how to talk up. But as time goes on and the absurdity becomes clear of spending billions of hard-earned dollars on weapons of destruction to prepare for an enemy that does not exist, the voices will be found.

Then, perhaps, the spark and the leadership will be created which will indeed direct the nation "into a new great age," where it will live in peace and friendship with the Soviet Union and China and all the nations of the earth. And, above all, with itself.

Photo by Jack Arnold

FIVE HUNDRED PERSONS TURNED OUT at a rally in New York Nov. 5 to support the First Amendment and the 30 people who are threatened with jail terms for invoking it in Congressional quiz shows. Several of the defendants, including Lloyd Barenblatt and Willard Uphaus (shown above) spoke. Among them were Pauline Feuer and Herman Liveright of New Orleans; Carl Braden of Louisville, Ky.; William Price of New York; Chandler Davis of Michigan; Harvey O'Connor of Winnetka, Ill. I. F. Stone was chairman, and Steward Meacham of the Friends Committee, and Ernest Mazey, a Detroit UAW official also spoke. Barenblatt and Uphaus drew standing ovations for their principled defense of their positions. Barenblatt surrendered on Nov. 9 to begin a six-month sentence on a conviction of contempt. Uphaus is awaitig a final hearing by the Superior Court of New Hampshire. In a farewell statement Barenblatt said:

"My thanks go to those who made my lengthy and costly test case possible. The Bill of Rights Fund contributed important help at the beginning stages of the court fight. The American Friends Service Committee Rights of Conscience Program helped at a critical stage when, but for that help, I might not have been able to continue. My special heartfelt gratitude goes to the many people of modest means who contributed from their grocery, rent and family budget money. They were the moral and financial mainstay. The American Civil Liberties Union took my case at the time of the second approach to the Supreme Court. I am pleased to say that the ACLU treated the case with complete dignity and objectivity, and was sincerely concerned with the issues involved. The good offices of Roland Watts of the ACLU were especially helpful. My thanks again to the Bill of Rights Fund for voting a grant to cover the cost of my $250 fine, although my decision was, and remains, to pay the fine myself."

A Committee of First Amendment Defendants has been set up with a mail address at P.O. Box 564, Radio City Sta., New York City 19, N.Y.

the SPECTATOR

Behind Guinea's success

STANDING IN THE ELEGANT surroundings of the Starlight Room of New York's Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, President Sekou Touré of Guinea demonstrated to an audience of distinguished Negroes and their white friends the secret of his nation's success. Whether the lesson will be remembered and applied may have great bearing on the course of the American Negro's struggle for equality.

Touré pointed to his Ambassador to the United Nations and to another leading figure in Guinea's foreign service. Both, he said, were highly cultured men. They had gone off to France to study. One had become a jurist, the other a surgeon. Both lived in splendid homes, enjoyed moderate wealth and moved in the "best" of French circles.

But at night they were alone with their conscience. Then, said Touré, they thought about the oppression of their mothers and fathers in Guinea—and they bowed their heads in shame. The jurist and the surgeon returned to Guinea to lend their talents to the revolution against colonialism.

SEKOU TOURÉ
He revealed the secret

THIS UNITY—of the leaders and the led—was the "secret" of Guinea's rejection last year of de Gaulle's bid for union with France and its subsequent emergence as Africa's newest republic. And in the long run it will be the key to the transformation of the American Negro's service and protest organizations into fully effective mass movements for freedom.

Touré was refreshingly unambiguous about the principle. The mass of people, he said, in a passage that was a virtual pean of praise, are "pure." They have an unremitting hatred of imperialism. They are the bearers of the nation's culture. In them the will to freedom is unblemished. But from their midsts there arise, slowly and painfully, a class of business men, professionals and intellectuals. Too often they measure their success by the extent of their alienation from the culture and plight of their people. Besieged by complexes of inferiority, bedazzled by the "grandeur" of the colonial powers (paid for by their kinsmen's blood), they become half men, politically and socially torn between cultures.

Touré embodied the antithesis of such lost souls. Having begun his public career as a trade union leader 14 years ago, he was now the president of a new nation, unashamedly pronouncing his love for his people, his detestation of their oppressors, his serene confidence in their future.

HE PROVED AN ARDENT advocate of pan-African unity. Guinea (a country roughly the size of Colorado and with a population of 2,505,000) could finally be secure, he said, only when all of Africa is free and united. His listeners applauded an announcement that leaders of Ghana, Guinea and Liberia would soon meet to discuss details of a plan for political unity.

The young president also advocated the unity of Africa and the rest of the world, the interchange of resources, cultures and values. He emphasized, however, that Guinea was not begging for help, that it would accept it only on terms which suited an independent nation, that it intended to contribute to the world as well as take from it.

The audience laughed as Touré rejected a third kind of unity—"the unity of the rider and the horse." It might take time for the kind of Africa he envisioned to materialize, he said, but in the history of nations "a hundred years is but a drop in the bucket of time." What was important was for Africans to reject the hypnotic influence of the colonial world which had degraded their fathers and turn to building a new life true to their potential and their nature as one of the great members of the human family. Not only the happiness of Africans, but the security and peace of the whole world increasingly depends on such a development, he said.

OF COURSE, American Negroes are not colonial subjects in the strictest sense. But their leaders are subject to the same blandishments with which European powers tempt African intellectuals. "We will make you a judge," they are told. "You may have this appointment, or that—only remember, on this integration business there are two sides and we must proceed with moderation."

Out of this comes a little band of sycophants and apologists for the U.S. ruling class. This, to be sure, is a form of equality, for the nation already has an oversupply of white apologists and sycophants. But it is a kind of equality Negroes could well do without. It deprives them of single-minded leadership, prepared to fight and never falter until freedom is won. It deprives them of what they now most need—a leadership of the dedication, resourcefulness and skill exemplified by a Sekou Touré.

—Louis E. Burnham

Restoratives needed

EL SOBRANTE, CALIF.

The moral sense of mankind has been aroused against war. But war profiteers have no moral sense.

Militarism is our national disease. Its symptoms are feverish expenditures, confused mentality, international disfavor and unconstitutional draft.

J. N. McCullough

NEW YORK

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A Veteran Reporter shows why Nixon MUST face the BIG DOUBT in his frantic race to succeed Eisenhower. Factual! Revealing! A Story every American should know.
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let's talk turkey!
When your wife spends Thanksgiving in the kitchen, what does she have to be thankful for? The poor gal will shop, cook, bake, clean, until the only thing she can look forward to is a night of undisturbed sleep. Now, at Chaits . . .
Holiday meals (and nary a dish to dry) and with a good day camp, there is time to enjoy Chaits wonderful guests. Not to mention the ice skating, folk and square dancing, unusual entertainment, antique safari, art seminar and other activities we have planned for Nov. 25-29.
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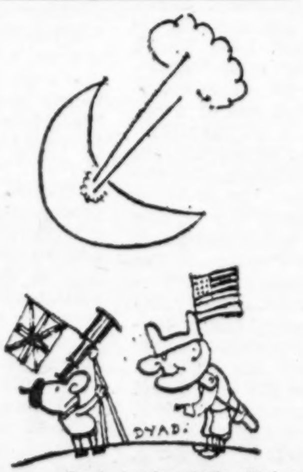

Dyad, London Daily Worker
"Whatever the Russians saw, we saw first, see!"

To express their regard & affection for the late Harry Oncher, his family and friends will gather in memorial, Fri., Nov. 20, 8:30 p.m., at the Brooklyn Women's Club, 114 Pierrepont St., between Henry and Clinton Sts.

LOS ANGELES

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Huge stocks of everything—clothing, furniture, household goods, toys, jewelry, groceries, books, records, and a thousand other items—all at prices below wholesale.
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The L.A. Jewish Currents Committee presents
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in an address
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Clive Jenkins speaks in Chicago on Nov. 17

CLIVE JENKINS, prominent member of the British Labor Party, will speak on the results of the British elections and the future of the British Labor Party, Tues., Nov. 17, 8 p.m., at 32 W. Randolph St., Chicago.

Jenkins is a columnist for **The Tribune**, a Labor Party organ, and a national officer of the Technicians Union. The program is sponsored by the American Forum and will include a question and a discussion period. Admission is 90c.

N. Y. Master Institute Art show for Israel school

THE NEW YORK Women's Council of Americans for Progressive Israel will hold an art sale at the Master Institute, 103rd St. and Riverside Drive, from Wed., Nov. 11 through Sun., Nov. 15. Proceeds will go to the Kibbutz High School Scholarship Fund of Hashomer Hatzair, Inc.

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If Uncle Sam can find ways and means to subsidize the rich airplane companies, to guarantee bank deposits, to hand over government plants to the Duponts and the steel companies at a fraction of their cost, then why in the sam hill can't he protect his hard working farmers from disaster and loss?

Ernest Seeman

CALENDAR

BOSTON

WILLARD UPHAUS
"Turn Informer or Life Imprisonment?"
HOWARD WHITESIDE
"Legal Backgrounds of Uphaus Case"
Wed., Nov. 18, 7:30 p.m.
Community Church Forum
565 Boylston St.
Admission Free.

THE AMERICAN FORUM OF CHICAGO
presents direct from England
CLIVE JENKINS, Columnist for London Tribune; Trade Union Leader; Labor Party Leader — to speak on
"THE RESULTS OF BRITISH ELECTIONS"
- The Future of the British Labor Party
- Implications for America . . .

TUES. NOV. 17 8 P.M.
Masonic Temple Blg., 32 W. Randolph St.
Admission 90c

DETROIT

SHIRLEY GRAHAM, author-lecturer, recently returned from tour of 3 continents, speaks on "AFRICA ON THE MARCH," Tues., Nov. 24, 8 p.m. McGregor Memorial Conference Center, Conference Room B (Ferry & 2nd Av.) Reg. $1. Ausp. Global Books Forum.

LOS ANGELES

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VICTOR GOTTLIEB, cellist
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Sun., Nov. 22, 2:30 p.m.
Larchmont Hall, 118 N. Larchmont Blvd.
Refreshments. Ausp: Jubilee Committee

JOHN HOWARD LAWSON, Lecture Series. Shakespeare, Nov. 18, Macbeth, Nov. 25, Coriolanus. Place: 800 S. Plymouth Blvd., Time: 8:30-10:30 p.m. Adm. 90c, Students 50c.

PHILADELPHIA

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Sun. Nov. 22 7:30 p.m.
The University Museum, 33rd & Spruce.
Adults $1.25, Students $1. For tickets: CH 8-0791. FREE PARKING

NEW YORK

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Sun., Nov. 22, 8:30 p.m.
Master Institute Theater
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* * * *

POETRY AND PHILOSOPHY
Dialogues between
DR. BARROWS DUNHAM, Philosopher
and
DR. FREDERIC EWEN, Literary Critic
Friday evenings, 8:30 p.m.
Nov. 20—Milton Dec. 4—Goethe
Dec. 18—T. S. Eliot
Single admission $1.25
Master Institute
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DR. ANNETTE T. RUBINSTEIN
speaks on "Political Commitments of the Writer — Sholokhov vs. Dr. Zhivago" Fri., Nov. 13, 8:30 p.m., Hotel Beacon, Broadway & 75th St. (Silver Room). Adm. Free. Ausp: West Side Community Club.

Fri., Nov. 20, at 8:30 p.m.
"Inside The Khrushchev Era"
HYMAN LUMER
Fourth in the new series of
"FRIDAY FORUMS"
- A public review of new book by Giuseppe Boffa
- What is a "friendly-but-critical" position on the Soviet Union?

Single admission to lectures: $1.

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Friday, Nov. 27
No Forum on this date; series will be resumed on Dec. 6; watch for announcements on topics to come.

- - - - -

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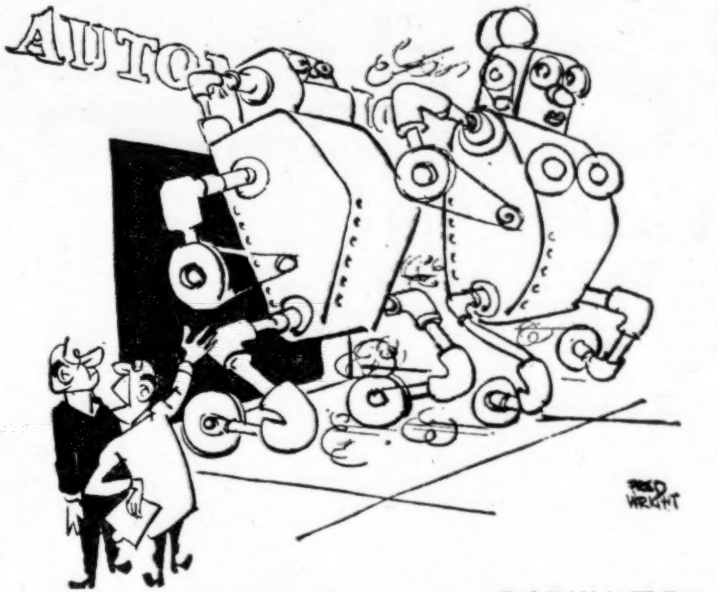

Fred Wright in UE News

"Ever since we got those machines which reproduce themselves, all they think about is sex."

LECTURE—Sun., Nov. 15, 8:30 p.m. "Socialist World In an Era of Peace." Discussion by **DR. HERBERT APTHEKER** based upon his recent 2-month visit to Hungary, E. Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Soviet Union. Brighton Community, 2300 Coney Island Av., Brooklyn.

You enjoy good poetry and are interested in politics but don't quite see the connection between the two? Then be sure to hear **DR. ANNETTE T. RUBINSTEIN**, noted authority on English & American literature, discuss **"Poetry & Politics." SAT., NOV. 14, 8 P.M.**, at Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place. Followed by social evening. Dancing and refreshments. Contribution $1.

* * * *

SAVE THIS DATE—Fri., Nov. 20, 8 p.m. Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary, Socialist Workers Party and former Teamsters Union leader, discusses "Labor Role in 1960 Elections." Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Pl. Contribution $1.

DISCUSSION on Isaac Deutscher's biography of Trotsky **The Prophet Unarmed.** Speakers: **Dr. Stanley Moore**, former professor of philosophy at Reed College; **Murry Weiss**, editor Intl. Socialist Review. Fri., Nov. 13, 8 p.m., Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Av. Cont. $1, students, 50c. Sponsor: Young Soc. Alliance.

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THE GALLERY

AFTER CONGRESS COMPLETES the funeral rites for quiz shows, it ought to turn its guns on the $64,000,000 scandal: the fraud in television commercials. Legislation is clearly needed. Copywriters should be compelled by law to finish sentences like, "Dreck washes whiter." Announcers should be required to take truth serum to say what the cigarette they are puffing really tastes like. And all comparison-test ads should be supervised by the Honest Ballot Assn.

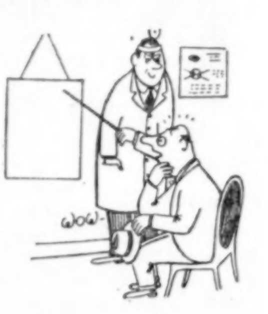
The public has a right to know that the beer it is buying because it "keeps its head longer than Brand X," doesn't (assuming that a long-lasting head on beer is a virtue.) In the visual test shown on TV, a vegetable compound, Frothee, is added to the sponsor's beer to keep its head up, while millions watch Brand X's head droop.

Viewers should also know that the stain removed with one wipe by the sponsor's product, isn't a stain at all. It is a mild solution of iodine. And the sponge holding the sponsor's product also has a chemical that bleaches iodine on contact.

And it is the constitutional right of every American to know why one cleanser brightens a dirty sink so much better than Brand X. It is because the sponge with the sponsor's cleanser has a sheet of abrasive glued to the bottom.

Let's form a committee for a Fair Test for Brand X.

FATHER OSCAR LYNCH TOLD AN AUDIENCE in New York's St. Patrick's Cathedral: "Since the ultimate cause of juvenile delinquency is a mystery, we can solve it only by another mystery — and that is the mystery of Jesus Christ." . . . Experts are confused about the nationality of a boy born this month aboard an Italian ship in British waters coming from Canada under a Panama contract. His parents are Czechs who were married in Yugoslavia and live in France. The baby was named Olav . . . Good news for New York diners: Longchamps announced that there is no longer a charge for bread and butter. And a new restaurant opened on Lexington Av.: "The Cattleman, an adult western restaurant." . . . Lord Hailsham, Britain's first science minister in charge of outer space experiments, sits at a desk (1) lighted by three old-fashioned candlestick lamps; (2) entangled by looping wires plugged into sockets on the desk top; and (3) looking out a window at a sign reading, "This balcony is dangerous." . . . Motivation researcher Louis Cheskin advises manufacturers not to make dishes that won't break. He says: "Most housewives want or welcome an excuse to buy a new set of dishes every few years." . . . Thirteen retired police officers who went for their cars after an annual reunion at a London restaurant, found that the vehicles had been towed away for illegal parking.



Vie Nuove, Rome

A REQUIRED TEXT FOR CANDIDATES for a BA degree in some colleges is **Economics** by Paul A. Samuelson. It contains this paragraph: "John Stuart Mill, the last of the great classical economists, was taught Greek by his father at age three; by age 20 he of course had a nervous breakdown. But though he developed the 18th century classical system to its logical conclusion, he was led by the end of his life — some say through respectable love for a married woman, whom he later married — to a kind of Christian socialism. Just to confuse matters, Mill had always been, even at age three, an atheist." . . . A New Jersey company offers for $4.98 plus postage a "Mysterious Little Black Box." According to its ads, "the little black box just sits there — quiet, sinister, waiting for you or your visitor to throw the switch on. Then, suddenly it comes to life, with a whir of power — twitching and jumping as if a demented genie were locked inside. Slo-o-o-wly the lid rises. From beneath emerges a pale, clutching hand. The hand grabs the switch, pushes it to 'off', quickly disappears back in the box. The lid slams shut. Once again, all is quiet." . . . Fletcher Knebel in the Los Angeles **Mirror News** reports: "Pentagon cafeterias have started serving a special bland diet. Ulcers are multiplying among the brass at rumors of disarmament." . . . When former Secy. of State Dean Acheson was asked whether he considered Berlin's situation abnormal, as President Eisenhower described it, he answered: "The only abnormality is that the Russions are in Europe at all."

—Robert E. Light

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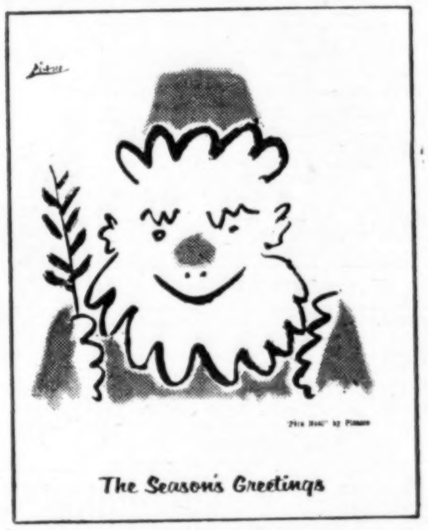
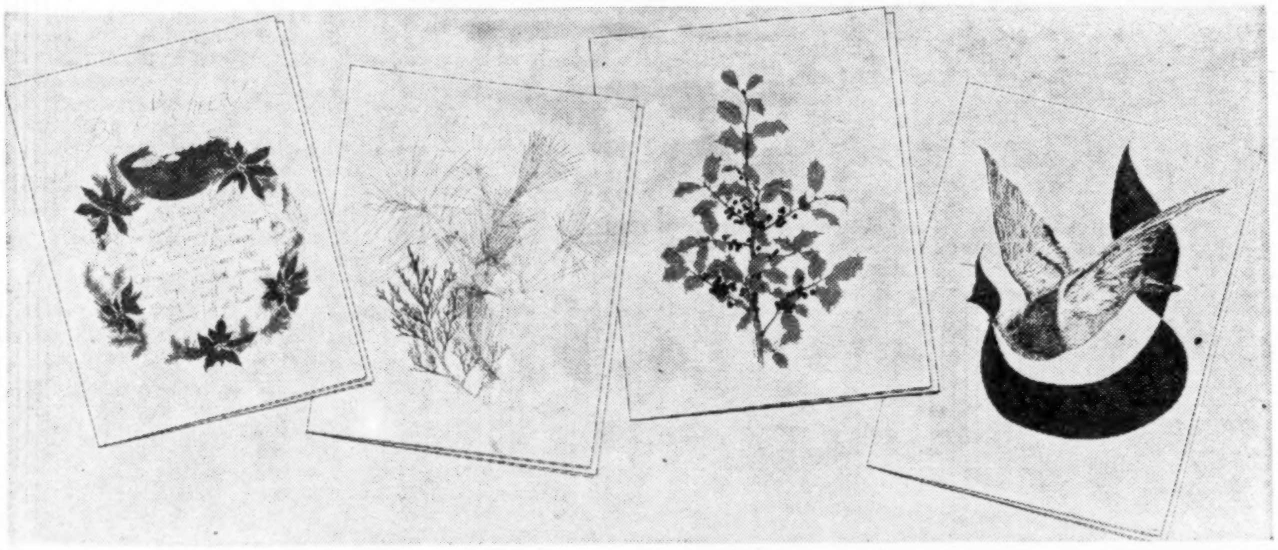
HOLIDAY CARDS — THREE OUTSTANDING SETS!

FOR THE FIRST TIME in its 8-year history Guardian Buying Service offers THREE exquisite sets of greeting cards to please every taste! Two "economy sets"—the "Holly" cards by a leading magazine illustrator and the Guardian Angel set by the Guardian's own Art Editor, Robert Joyce—are reproduced on lightweight paper with a French fold (a sheet folded in half, then folded in half again) and packed twelve to a box. The charming Picasso "Pere Noel," is printed on beautiful heavy card stock, 5"x7", and packed eight to a box. You can't go wrong on any of these lovely cards. All are shipped complete with matching envelopes, in a cardboard carton.

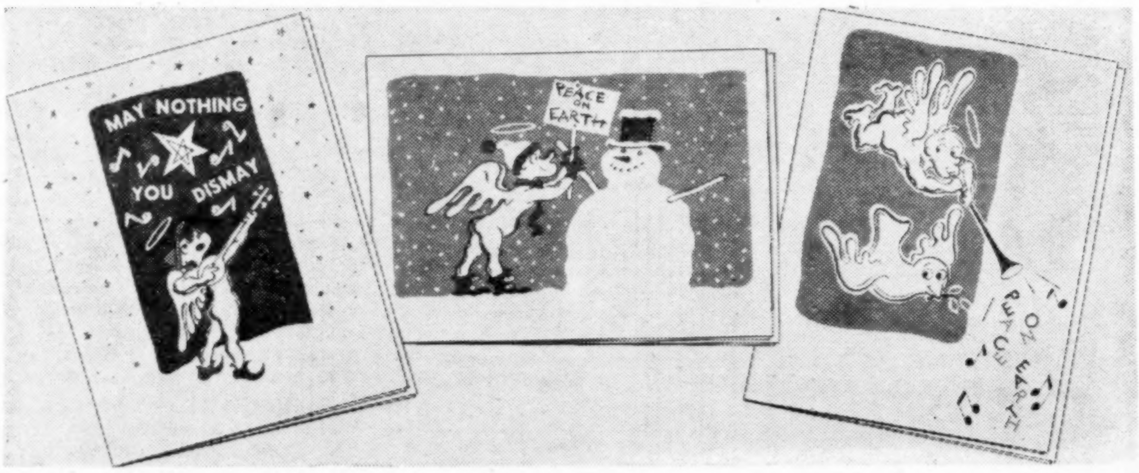


PICASSO'S "PERE NOEL"—Through special arrangements with Picasso and the French Peace Committee the Guardian has obtained exclusive rights in America to reproduce this charming drawing as a Christmas card. Picasso is at his witty best in this delightful rendition of Father Christmas holding an evergreen sprig. Reproduced in three process colors, on heavy cardboard stock 5"x7", these high quality cards are appropriate for any friends, and are absolutely exclusive with the Guardian. Eight to a box with matching envelopes. Each set $1.50; 2 sets $2.75; 3 sets $4; 4 sets $5. Bulk prices: 50 cards $7; 100 cards $12.



(Above)

"HOLLY" SET—A series of four lovely drawings, packed 12 to a set, by one of the country's leading magazine illustrators. Printed in four colors on lightweight French-fold, with "Season's Greetings" printed inside. You must see these fine drawings in color to appreciate them. The Wassail Bowl (far left) provides a wonderful, little-known recipe for holiday cheer. Single set of 12 cards $1. 2 sets $1.75; 3 sets $2.50; 4 sets $3.25; 5 sets for $4.



(Left)

GUARDIAN ANGEL SET—Three charming cards, packed four each to a set, of one of your favorite characters—our Guardian Angel! Reproduced in four colors on lightweight stock, "Season's Greetings" inside, packed with 12 envelopes and shipped in a sturdy cardboard box. Here's an absolutely delightful set of Holiday cards for your friends and relatives. Each set of 12 cards $1. 2 sets $1.75; 3 sets $2.50; 4 sets $3.25; 5 sets for $4.

GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE
197 E. 4th St., New York 9, N. Y.

Description of Item	Amount

(N.Y.C. buyers add 3% sales tax)

TOTAL ____

Orders filled only in the U.S.

Name ....

Address ....

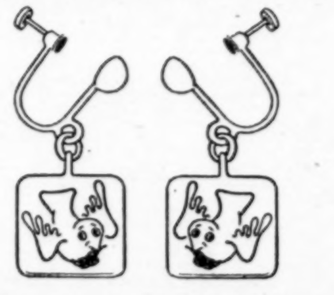
City .... Zone .... State ....

No COD's. Full payment must accompany each order. Please make checks or money orders payable to Guardian Buying Service.

NEWSPAPER

New This Year!

GUARDIAN Peace Dove Jewelry!



A unique and charming series of gifts—the hopeful little Guardian Peace Dove, cast into a stunning line of earrings, tie-tacks, cuff links, a pendant and a pin! This lovely jewelry is made to the Guardian's own design, handcrafted for us by a noted New York silversmith. Each pin is in oxydized sterling silver with sturdy clasps, and satin (burnished) finish. The ideal gift for men and women.

For The Ladies

A—EARRINGS — Exquisite sterling silver drop earrings with the little peace dove incised in oxydized outline on delicate small (5/8") mobile squares. ....Just **$4.95**

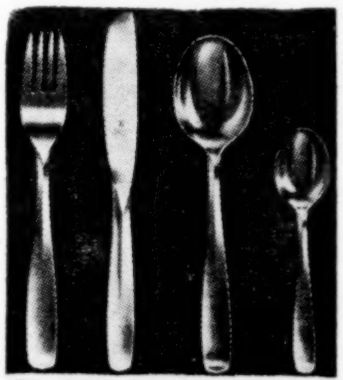
B—PENDANT—Lovely 7/8" sterling chain, with dove in incised outline. May be used as charm for charm bracelet.
A wonderful gift for **$4.50**

C—PIN—Charming Peace Dove pin 1-3/8 x 1¼. Dove in gleaming, lustrous silhouette. Only **$4.95**

For The Men

D—CUFF LINKS — Handsome 5/8" x 7/8" rectangular blocks of sterling silver with peace dove incised in oxydized outline. Satin finished, with extra firm snap-type cuff link backs. A wonderful gift alone or as a set with matching tie tack. (See below) **$5.95**

E—TIE TACK—A charming match to cuff links. A tiny silhouetted dove in oxydized sterling silver, satin finished. An ideal gift alone or with matching cuff links.
(See above) **$3.50**



GRASOLI "europa" (above)—54 lustruous pieces of the finest stainless steel you can buy! ONLY 22 SETS ON HAND — FIRST COME, FIRST SERVED! Sells regularly for $59.95! This set, which you'll be proud to own, includes ladle, gravy ladle, cake server and salad fork. Made of finest steel in Solingen, Germany. Beautifully satin finished, with mirror-bright bowls and scalloped blades. Perfectly balanced, classic in its structural simplicity, a delight to handle and to own. Exquisite as a wedding or holiday gift. One of the Guardian's finest values *ever*, saving you a whopping $20 at $39.95

Do All Your Holiday Shopping Through Guardian Buying Service!

Guardian advertisers help our business. Let's help theirs!